Dio's Roman history

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Earnest Cary, ...

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

III

Cassius

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF

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IN NINE VOLUMES

III

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LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.
MCMXIV

CONTENTS

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

1[a] Κληρουμένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων Ὁρτήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρῆτας ἔλαχε πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπό τε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει φιλοχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς πλεῖστον τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μετά γε τὸν Κικέρωνα ἠδυνήθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντὴς ἐξέστη καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστείλατό τε ἐς Κρήτην . . .—Xiphil. p. 1, 5–12 Dind.

Xiphilinus

1[b] Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολέμῳ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθᾳ κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χεομένῃ δεινῶς
2 ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο, καὶ διάπυρον οὕτως ὥσθ' ὅσοις ἂν προσμίξῃ, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ' ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ' οὐθενὸς ὑγροῦ ῥᾳδίως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

WHEN[1] the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained the war against the Cretans. But on account of his fondness for residence in the capital and on account of the courts, in which he had greater influence than any of his contemporaries with the exception of Cicero, he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favour of his colleague and remained at home himself. Metellus accordingly set out for Crete . . . B.C. 69

Xiphilinus

Lucius Lucullus at this time had defeated in battle the lords of Asia, Mithridates and Tigranes the Armenian, and after forcing them to avoid battle was besieging Tigranocerta. But the barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha which they poured over his engines; this chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that it is sure to burn up whatever it touches, and it cannot easily be extinguished by any liquid. In consequence Tigranes recovered courage and

[1] The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion is doubtless contained in the two following passages from Xiphilinus' Epitome.

Xiphilinus

ἀναθαρρήσας τοσαύτῃ χειρὶ στρατοῦ ἤλασεν ὥστε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρόντων καταγελάσαι· λέγεται δ' οὖν εἰπεῖν ὡς[1] εἰ μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἥκοιεν, ὀλίγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύσοντες,
3 πολλοὶ παρεῖεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἥσθη, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξέμαθεν ὅσον ἥ τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ τέχνη παντὸς ὁμίλου κρατεῖ. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιάραν τό τε ἀνάδημα τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν εὑρόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λουκούλλῳ ἔδωκαν· δείσας γὰρ μὴ γνωσθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἁλῷ, περιεσπάσατο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρριψεν.—Xiphil. p. 1, 20–2, 15 Dind.

1 . . . καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρᾷ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκέχρητο, ἐπέτρεψεν· ἡττηθείς τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἐλάττω καὶ στρατηγικώτερος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. αὐτοί τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιχώρους, τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθον, καίπερ ἐχθρὸν τῷ Τιγράνῃ διὰ χώραν τινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα,
2 ἐπρεσβεύοντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῷ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέβαλλον λέγοντες ὅτι, ἂν μονωθέντων σφῶν κρατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον εὐθὺς ἐπιστρατεύσουσι· φύσει τε γὰρ πᾶν τὸ νικῶν ἄπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι καὶ μηδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτους, ἅτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλῶν δὴ γεγονότας, οὐκ ἐθελήσειν αὐτοῦ ἀποσχέσθαι.

[1] ὡς added by H. Steph.

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

marched forth with an army of such strength that he even scoffed at the Romans present there. He is said, indeed, to have remarked that when they came on a campaign there were only a few of them, but when on an embassy there were a great many. His amusement, however, was of short duration, for he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. After his flight the soldiers found and gave to Lucullus his tiara and the band that went around it; for in his fear that these ornaments might lead to his recognition and capture he had torn them off and thrown them away. B.C. 69

. . . and since [Mithridates] had experienced both extremes of fortune, [Tigranes] entrusted [the supreme command to him (?)] For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he was believed to have become in consequence better versed in generalship. These two rulers, accordingly, not only set about making preparations themselves, as if they were then for the first time beginning the war, but also sent embassies to their various neighbours, including Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed territory. This they offered to yield to him, and they also went to maligning the Romans, declaring that the latter, in case they conquered their present antagonists while these were left to fight single-handed, would immediately make a campaign against him. For every victorious force was inherently insatiate of success and set no bound to its greed; and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.

2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Λούκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ κατὰ σχολὴν σωθῆναι εἴασε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχῃ, καταλῦσαι παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ
2 τοῖς πολίταις ἔσχε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε[1] ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὡς καὶ αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξε, τὸν ὕπατον αὐτῷ τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα διάδοχον ἔπεμψαν.
3 τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανόκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τῶν ξένων τῶν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς εἷλε. Κίλικές τε γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀνάσπαστοί ποτε γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἴσω
4 νυκτὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διηρπάσθη πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκας τῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλὰς ἁλούσας ἄνευ ὑβρισμοῦ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφῶν προσεποιή-
5 σατο. τόν τε τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον (ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη τῆς Συρίας πρός τε τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐστί) καί τινα Ἀράβιον δυνάστην Ἀλχαυδόνιον ἄλλους τε ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους οἱ ἐδέξατο.

3 Καὶ μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπό τε τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην πεμφθεῖσαν, ἀνταπέστειλέ τινας ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλάς τε ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἂν ἐκείνοις ἐπικουρήσῃ, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἂν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέ-
2 ληται, φέροντας. ὁ οὖν Ἀρσάκης τότε μέν (ἔτι γὰρ τῷ τε Τιγράνῃ ὀργὴν εἶχε καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥω-

[1] τε added by Bk

BOOK XXXVI

While they were thus engaged, Lucullus did not follow up Tigranes, but allowed him to reach safety quite at his leisure. Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they at this time restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he was believed to have acted in this same way again, they sent to him the consul of that year to relieve him. Nevertheless he did seize Tigranocerta when the foreigners living in the city revolted against the Armenians; for the most of them were Cilicians who had once been carried off from their own land, and these let in the Romans during the night. Thereupon everything was plundered, except what belonged to the Cilicians; but Lucullus saved from outrage many of the wives of the principal men, when they had been captured, and by this action won over their husbands also. He furthermore received Antiochus, king of Commagene (a part of Syria near the Euphrates and the Taurus), and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, and others who had made overtures to him. B.C. 69

Learning now from them of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, he in his turn sent to him some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should choose the Roman side instead. Arsaces at that time, since he was still angry with Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans, sent back envoys

μαίους οὐδὲν ὑπώπτευε) πρέσβεις τέ οἱ ἀντέπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπείσατο· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἐλθόντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἰδὼν ὑπετόπησε κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι (τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἤδη γεγενημένης, ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ τὰ πολεμικὰ πεμφθῆναι), καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' αὐτῷ[1] βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἠναντιώθη τι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, μηδετέρους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐθελήσας αὐξῆσαι· τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἰσοπαλῆ ὄντα ἀσφάλειάν οἱ μεγίστην οἴσειν ἐνόμιζεν.

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ταῦθ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔπραξε, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας συχνὰ προσηγάγετο·
4 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κυΐντου Μαρκίου (οὗτος γάρ, καίπερ οὐ μόνος ἀποδειχθείς, μόνος ὑπάτευσεν· ὅ τε γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτονηθεὶς Λούκιος Μέτελλος ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαιρεθεὶς[2] πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς μετήλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
2 οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀπεδείχθη)—ἐν οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ Λούκουλλος μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ψύχους ἀδύνατος ἦν ἦρι ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν γῆν ἐσβαλεῖν) στρατεύσας τινά τε τῆς γῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ὅπως ἀμύνοντας αὐτῇ[3] τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μάχην ὑπαγάγηται, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἐπ'
5 αὐτοὺς ὥρμησε. κἂν τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χαλεποὶ οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἱππῆς ἐγίγνοντο, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς χεῖρας ᾔει, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἡ ἀσπὶς τοῦ Λουκούλλου τῇ ἵππῳ

[1] αὐτῷ H. Steph., αὐτῶν VP.
[2] ἐφαιρεθεὶς Dind., ἀφιερωθεὶς V, ἀφιτρωθεὶς P.
[3] αὐτῇ Rk., αὐτὴν VP.

to Lucullus, and established friendship and alliance. B.C. 69
Later, when he saw Secilius [Sextilius], who had come to him, he began to suspect that he was there to spy out the country and his power; it was for this cause, he thought, and not on account of the compact which had already been made that a man distinguished in warfare had been sent. Hence he no longer gave him any aid. On the other hand, he offered no opposition, but stood aloof from both parties, naturally wishing to make neither side strong; for he thought that an evenly-balanced struggle between them would insure him the greatest safety.

Besides these achievements, Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia; and in the year of Quintus Marcius—this man held office alone, although B.C. 68
not the only consul appointed, since Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead died before entering upon office, in consequence of which no one else was appointed—in this year, I say, Lucullus entered upon his campaign when summer was already at its height, since in the spring it had been impossible to invade the enemy's country because of the cold. He devastated a part of their land, purposing to draw the barbarians imperceptibly into battle while defending it; but when even then they made no move, he marched against them. In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the

προσβοηθήσειεν, ἐτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινόν τι ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας ἐς τοὐπίσω τοξεύοντες πολλοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα
2 ἀπεκτίννυσαν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτίτρωσκον. καὶ ἦν τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα· ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀκίσι διπλαῖς ἐχρῶντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοττον[1] αὐτάς, ὥστε τὰ βέλη, εἴτε ἐμμένοι[2] πῃ τοῖς σώμασιν εἴτε καὶ ἐξέλκοιτο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διολλύναι· τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον[3] σιδήριον ἔνδον, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἀνθολκὴν ἔχον, ἐγκατελείπετο.

6 Ὁ οὖν Λούκουλλος, ἐπειδή τε πολλοὶ ἐτραυματίζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθνησκον, οἱ δ' ἀνάπηροι γοῦν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς ἐπέλιπεν, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἐπὶ Νίσιβιν
2 ὥρμησεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ πόλις αὕτη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καλουμένῃ πεπόλισται (οὕτω γὰρ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Τίγριδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὀνομάζεται) καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄποικος ἡμῶν νομίζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος τούς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ[4] τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθειτο,[5] φύλακά οἱ τὸν
3 ἀδελφὸν προστάξας. πρὸς οὖν ταύτην ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλθὼν ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, καίπερ μὴ παρέργως τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε· τὰ γὰρ τείχη καὶ διπλᾶ καὶ πλίνθινα ὄντα, τήν τε παχύτητα πολλὴν ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ διειλημμένα, οὔτε κατασεισθῆναί πῃ οὔτε διορυχθῆναι ἠδυνήθη, διόπερ οὐδ' ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήμυνέ
7 σφισιν· ὡς δ' ὅ τε χειμὼν ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

[1] ἐφάρμοττον Rk., ἐφήρμοττον VP.
[2] ἐμμένοι St., ἐμμένειέ V, ἐμμένοιέ P.
[3] τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον Bk., τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον τὸ δεύτερον VP. It is

horse, the enemy would turn to flight. Far from suffering any injury, however, they kept shooting back at those pursuing them, killing some instantly and wounding great numbers. Now these wounds were dangerous and hard to heal; for they used double arrow-points and moreover poisoned them, so that the missiles, whether they stuck fast anywhere in the body or even if they were drawn out, would very quickly destroy it, since the second iron point, not being firmly attached, would be left in the wound. B.C. 68

Since many, then, were getting wounded, of whom some died, and the others were in any case maimed, and since provisions at the same time were failing them, Lucullus retired from that place and marched against Nisibis. This city is built in the region called Mesopotamia (the name given to all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates) and now belongs to us, being considered a colony of ours. But at that time Tigranes, who had seized it from the Parthians, had deposited in it his treasures and most of his other possessions, and had stationed his brother as guard over it. Lucullus reached this city in the summer time, and although he directed his attacks upon it in no half-hearted fashion, he effected nothing. For the walls, being of brick, double, and of great thickness, with a deep moat intervening, could be neither battered down anywhere, nor undermined, and even Tigranes, therefore, was not assisting the besieged. But when winter set in, and the barbarians were

very probable, however, that some words have been lost at this point. [4] καὶ Rk., καὶ τὰ ἄλλα VP.

[5] ἀπετέθειτο Rk., ἀπετίθετο VP.

ῥᾳθυμότερον,[1] ἅτε ἐπικρατοῦντες[2] τούς τε Ῥω-
μαίους ὅσον οὐκ ἀπαναστήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες,
διῆγον, ἐτήρησε νύκτα ἀσέληνον καὶ ὑετῷ λάβρῳ
2 βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον, ὥστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι
μήτε τι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας τόν τε ἔξω
περίβολον πλὴν ὀλίγων καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ
τάφρον ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ προσέμιξε πολλαχῇ τῷ τεί-
χει, καὶ ἐκείνου τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων
ἐπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας
ἐν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἅτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε.
3 καὶ οὕτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρος τι (τὰς γὰρ γεφύρας
οἱ βάρβαροι προκατέρρηξαν[3]) συνέχωσεν (οὔτε
γὰρ τῇ τοξείᾳ οὔτ' αὖ τῷ πυρὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ
πολλῷ ὑετῷ ἐδύνατο), καὶ διαβὰς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα, οὐ πάνυ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ ἔνδον κύκλου πίστει
τῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων[4] ὄντος, εὐθὺς
4 εἷλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφυγόντας, ἄλλους
τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου, μετὰ τοῦτο καθ'
ὁμολογίαν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ
ἔλαβε καὶ ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε.

8 Τὴν μὲν οὖν Νίσιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ
Ἀρμενίας τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον
συχνὰ ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ἐκείνῃ μὲν ὡς
οὐκ ἂν ἁλούσῃ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προει-
ρημένα ὥρμησεν, εἴ πως ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν
2 αὐτοῦ ὄντος φθάσειεν αὐτὰ κομισάμενος. καὶ
Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέστειλεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἀρμενίαν ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα

[1] ῥᾳθυμότερον Xyl., ἀθυμότερον VP.
[2] ἐπικρατοῦντες H. Steph., ἐπικρατοῦντας VP.
[3] προκατέρρηξαν Xyl., προσκατέρρηξαν VP.
[4] προβεβλημένων Leuncl., προσβεβλημένων VP.

behaving rather carelessly, inasmuch as they had the B.C. 6 upper hand and were all but expecting the Romans to withdraw, Lucullus waited for a moonless night, when there was a violent storm of rain and thunder, so that the foe, not being able to see anything ahead or to hear any sound, left the outer circuit —all but a few of them—and the intervening moat. Then he approached the wall at many points, ascending it without difficulty from the mounds, and easily slew the guards who had been left behind upon it, since they were few in number. In this way he filled up a part of the moat, since the barbarians had broken down the bridges in advance, and got across, since in the downpour neither archery nor fire could harm him. Immediately he captured nearly everything, for the inner circuit was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it. Some, however, fled to the citadel, among them the brother of Tigranes; but he later caused them to surrender. He also obtained much treasure, and passed the winter there.

Nisibis, then, he captured as described, but he lost many districts of Armenia and of the other countries around Pontus. For Tigranes had not aided Nisibis, believing that it could not be captured, but had hurried to the places just mentioned to see if he could secure them ahead of Lucullus, while the latter was occupied around Nisibis. Then sending Mithridates back home, Tigranes himself entered his own district of Armenia. There he was opposed by

Λούκιον Φάννιον ἀντιστάντα οἱ ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο ἐπεβοήθησεν αὐτῷ.

9 *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτης ἔς τε τὴν ἑτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐσβαλὼν πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους ἀπροσδόκητός σφισι προσπεσὼν ἔφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ μάχης κατέκοψε, κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκτήσατο.*
2 *οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐκείνου τε εὔνοιαν ἔκ τε τοῦ ὁμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μῖσος διά τε τὸ ὀθνεῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσι κακουχεῖσθαι ἔχοντες, προσεχώρησάν τε αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων Μᾶρκον Φάβιον ἐνίκησαν.*
3 *οἵ τε γὰρ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μισθοφορήσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίῳ συνόντες, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν. οἵ τε γὰρ Θρᾷκες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ἐς προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες*
4 *οὔτε τι ὑγιὲς ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκείνου τε ἀφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξαίφνης οἱ προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι*[1] *ἐλευθερίαν σφίσι τοῦ βαρβάρου κηρύξαντος συνεπελάβοντο*
5 *τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ . . . ἀνάλωσαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μιθριδάτης . . . τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστρεφόμενος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ*[2] *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονὼς ἐμάχετο) λίθῳ τε ἐπλήγη καὶ δέος τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ παρέσχεν· ἐπισχόντων γάρ σφων*

[1] *καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι* supplied by Reim.
[2] *καὶ γὰρ καὶ* Bs., *καὶ γὰρ* VP.

Lucius Fannius, whom he surrounded, however, and besieged, until Lucullus learned of it and sent assistance. B.C. 68

Meanwhile Mithridates had invaded the other Armenia and the neighbouring districts. Here he fell upon and destroyed many of the Romans, to whom he appeared unexpectedly as they were wandering about the country, while others he killed in battle; and thereupon he promptly recovered most of the districts. For the people were well-disposed toward him because of kinship and because of his being hereditary monarch; and they likewise hated the Romans because these were foreigners and because they had been ill-treated by those set over them. Consequently they sided with Mithridates and later conquered Marcus Fabius, who was leader of the Romans there. For the Thracians, who had formerly served as mercenaries under Mithridates but were then with Fabius, and the slaves present in the Roman camp gave them valiant assistance. For the Thracians, when sent ahead by Fabius to reconnoitre, did not bring back to him any reliable report, and later, when he was proceeding in rather careless fashion and Mithridates suddenly fell upon him, they joined in the attack on the Romans; and at the same time the slaves, to whom the barbarian king had proclaimed freedom, took a hand in the affair. They would have destroyed [the Romans utterly] had not Mithridates, who, although over seventy years old, was in the battle, been struck by a stone while taking [a valiant?] part against the enemy. This caused the barbarians to fear that he might die; and while they halted battle on that

διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχην ἠδυνήθησαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ
Φάβιος ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποφυγεῖν.
10 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ Κάβειρα κατακλεισθεὶς
ἐπολιορκήθη μέν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου.
οὗτος γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλ-
λον διιών, καὶ γνοὺς τὰ πεπραγμένα, δύναμίν τε
2 ὅσην οἷόν τ' ἦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἤθροισε, καὶ τὸν
Μιθριδάτην ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ πλήθει
προσιὼν ἐξέπληξεν, ὥστ' ἀναστῆναι ποιῆσαι πρὶν
καὶ ἐς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν. κἀκ τούτου ἐπιθαρσήσας
καὶ μέχρι τῶν Κομάνων[1] ὑποφυγόντα αὐτὸν ἐπε-
3 δίωξε, κἀνταῦθα ἐνίκησεν. ηὐλίζετο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μι-
θριδάτης ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ᾗ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
προσῄεσαν, βουληθεὶς δέ σφισι κεκμηκόσιν ἐκ τῆς
πορείας συμμῖξαι αὐτός τε προαπήντησε καὶ ἑτέ-
ρους δι' ἄλλης γεφύρας ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ
διαβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε· καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγχώ-
μαλα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἡ γέφυρα πολ-
λῶν τε καὶ ἀθρόων ἅμα δι' αὐτῆς ἐπειγομένων . . .
τῆς τε ἐπικουρίας ἀπεστέρησε καὶ προσδιετάραξε.
11 Καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτ' (ἤδη γὰρ χειμὼν ἦν)
ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν τείχη ἀμφότεροι, καὶ
ἡσύχαζον· τὰ δὲ δὴ Κόμανα τῆς τε νῦν Καππα-
δοκίας ἐστί, καὶ ἐδόκει τό τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
βρέτας τὸ Ταυρικὸν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀγαμεμ-
νόνειον δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἔχειν. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς
ταῦτα ἀφίκετο ἢ ὅπως διέμεινεν, οὐ δύναμαι τὸ
2 σαφὲς πολλῶν λεγομένων εὑρεῖν· ὃ δ' ἀκριβῶς

[1] Κομάνων Anon. in Reim.'s ed., κομαγηνῶν VP.

account Fabius and others were able to escape to safety. B.C. 68

Fabius was subsequently shut up and besieged in Cabira, but was rescued by Triarius. The latter was in that vicinity on his way from Asia to Lucullus; and upon learning what had happened he collected as large a force as was possible in the circumstances and so alarmed Mithridates, who supposed he was advancing with the full strength of the Roman army, as to make him withdraw before ever he came in sight. At this Triarius took courage, and pursuing the king as far as Comana, whither he had retired, won a victory over him there. Mithridates was encamped on the opposite side of the river from the point which the Romans were approaching, and was anxious to join battle with them while they were worn out from the march. Accordingly, he advanced to meet them himself, and also directed that at the crisis of the battle others should cross by another bridge and attack them. But although he held his own in the struggle for a long time, he was not only deprived of the reinforcements but seriously embarrassed besides by [the collapse of] the bridge across which many were hastening and crowding all at once.

Later they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present district of Cappadocia and was supposed to have possessed clear up to that time the Tauric statue of Artemis and the descendants of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how they remained there I cannot discover the truth, since there are various stories; but what I understand clearly I will

ἐπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὗται πόλεις ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὁμώνυμοι οὔτε πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται·[1] καὶ γὰρ μυθολογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας ὃν ἀμφότεραι ἔχουσι.

12 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τῷ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπί τε Μανίου Ἀκιλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαΐου Πίσωνος ὑπάτων, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῷ Τριαρίῳ πρὸς Γαζιούροις ἀντεκάθητο, προκαλού-
2 μενός τε ἅμα αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐξοργίζων (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπόψει τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτός τε ᾔσκει καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ γυμνασίας ἐποιεῖτο), ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Λούκουλλον ἐπελθεῖν ἐκεῖνόν τε συμβαλών, ὥσπερ ἤλπισε, κρατήσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνασώσηται. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκινεῖτο, πέμπει τινὰς πρὸς Δάδασα φρούριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ σκεύη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέκειτο, ἵν' ἐκείνοις γε[2]
3 ἐπαμύνοντα αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ὑπαγάγηται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριάριος τέως μὲν τό τε πλῆθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον (μετεπέπεμπτο[3] γὰρ αὐτόν) προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν· ὡς δὲ τά τε Δάδασα πολιορκούμενα ἐπύθετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δείσαντες περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐταράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἴ σφας μηδεὶς ἐξάγοι, καὶ αὐτοκέλευστοι βοηθήσειν σφίσι,
4 καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη. καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι προχωροῦντι ἤδη προσπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν περιέσχον καὶ κατειργάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκφυγόντας ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ

[1] περιέχονται Bk., περιέχουσι VP. [2] γε Leuncl., τε VP.
[3] μετεπέπεμπτο Cobet, μετεπέμπετο VP.

state. There are two cities of this same name in Cappadocia, not very far apart, and they covet the same honours; for the stories they tell, and likewise the relics they exhibit, are the same in every case, including the sword, which each possesses, supposed to be that which belonged to Iphigenia. So much for this matter. B.C. 68

The following year, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped opposite Triarius near Gaziura, with the purpose of challenging and provoking him to battle; in particular, he not only took his own exercise but also drilled the army in plain sight of the Romans. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus should come up, and thus recover the rest of his realm. But when the other did not stir, he sent some men to Dadasa, a stronghold where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent might at least go to its defence and so be drawn into conflict. And thus it came about. Triarius, who feared the numbers of Mithridates and was awaiting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, was remaining quiet for the time; but when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in their fear for the place were becoming excited and were threatening that if no one would lead them forth they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward, the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and then riding around, killed those who had fled into B.C. 67

τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελαύνοντές
13 ἔκτεινον. καὶ πασσυδὶ ἂν σφας διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος ὢν (ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς τρόπῳ συστρατευομένους, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ὀλίγους εἶχε) προσῆλθέ τέ οἱ ὡς καὶ εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμενος, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν συλληφθεὶς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντων δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι-
2 έφυγον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ τό τε τραῦμα ἰᾶτο, καὶ προσυποπτεύσας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἶναι, ἐξέτασιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐποιήσατο, καὶ κελεύσας σφᾶς ἐς τὰς ἑαυτῶν σκηνὰς ὡς ἑκάστους κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωρῆσαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μονωθέντας διέφθειρε.

14 Κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπελθὼν δόξαν μέν τισι παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου ῥᾳδίως κρατήσων καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δι' ὀλίγου κομιούμενος,
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξέ τι. ὅ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ[1] πρὸς Ταλαύροις ὄντα ἱδρυθεὶς οὐκ ἀντεπῄει αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἕτερος ὁ[2] ἐκ Μηδίας γαμβρὸς τοῦ Τιγράνου ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν συχνοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅ τε Τιγράνης αὐτὸς προσιὼν ἠγγέλθη,
3 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστασίασεν. οἱ γὰρ Οὐαλερίειοι[3] οἱ τῆς τε στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὖθις στρατευσάμενοι ἐκινήθησαν μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ Νισίβι ἔκ τε τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, τοῦ

[1] τὰ supplied by Bs. [2] ὁ inserted by Bk.
[3] Οὐαλερίειοι Leuncl., Οὐαλέριοι VP.

the plain not knowing that the river had been directed into it. They would have destroyed them utterly, had not one of the Romans, pretending to belong to the allied force of Mithridates (for, as I have related, he had many of his troops equipped in the same manner as the Romans), approached the king, as if wishing to communicate something, and wounded him. To be sure, the fellow was immediately seized and put to death; but the barbarians were so excited over the occurrence that many of the Romans escaped. Mithridates, accordingly, was having his wound cured; and suspecting that there were others also of the enemy in the camp, he held a review of the soldiers, as if for a different purpose, and then ordered them to retire hastily every man to his own tent. In this way he detected the Romans and cut them down while they were left there by themselves. B.C. 67

At this juncture Lucullus arrived, and gave some the impression that he would conquer Mithridates easily and soon recover all that had been let slip; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing. For Mithridates, entrenched on the high ground near Talaura, would not come out against him, and the other Mithridates from Media, the son-in-law of Tigranes, fell suddenly upon the Romans while they were scattered, and killed many of them; also the approach of Tigranes himself was announced, and there was mutiny in the army. The Valerians,[1] who, after being discharged, had later entered the service again, had been restless even at Nisibis on account of their victory and ensuing idleness, and also

[1] The Twentieth Legion was called the Valeria. (See Livy vi. 9.)

τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ Λου-
κούλλου τὰ πολλά, διὰ τὸ πολλαχόσε ἐκδημεῖν
4 αὐτόν, διαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι Πούπλιός τις
Κλώδιος, ὃν Κλαύδιόν τινες ἐκάλεσαν, συνεστα-
σίαζέ σφας ὑπ᾽ ἐμφύτου νεωτεροποιίας, καίπερ
τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συνοικούσης·
ἐταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν
᾽Ακίλιον τὸν ὕπατον, ὃς τῷ Λουκούλλῳ διάδοχος
δι᾽ ἅπερ εἶπον ἐξεπέμφθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο·
ἐν γὰρ ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύοντα ἤδη
15 ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ οὖν Λούκουλλος ἔκ τε τούτων, καὶ
ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου[1] τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ᾽Ακιλίου
ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἧς ἄρχειν ἔμελλε παρ-
ιόντος, ἐπικουρίαν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
2 ἐγένετο, καὶ ὀκνήσας μὲν διὰ κενῆς ἀναστῆναι,
δείσας δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην
ὥρμησεν, εἴ πως ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπροσδόκητόν τε ἅμα
καὶ κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τρέψαιτο, καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τούτου παύσειε
στασιάζοντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχὴς οὐδετέρου
3 ἐγένετο· ἀκολουθῆσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα
μέχρι πού τινος ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτρα-
πέσθαι ἦν, ἐκεῖσε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδόν, μηδὲ φθεγ-
ξάμενοί τι, ἀπετράποντο. καὶ οἵ γε Οὐαλερίειοι,
μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοῖς οἴκοι τέλε-
σιν ἀφεῖνται, παντελῶς ἀπεχώρησαν.
16 Καὶ θαυμάσῃ μηδεὶς ὅτι στρατηγικώτατος[2]
ἀνδρῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτός τε
῾Ρωμαίων τὸν Ταῦρον σύν τε στρατῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ διαβάς, καὶ δύο βασιλέας οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς

[1] Μαρκίου Xyl., μάρκου VP.
[2] στρατηγικώτατος Leuncl. from Xiph., στρατηγικώτερος VP.

because they had had provisions in abundance and had been left to themselves much of the time, while Lucullus was absent on numerous errands. But it was largely a certain Publius Clodius (called Claudius by some) who through innate love of revolution brought the mutiny to a head, although his sister was married to Lucullus. At this time, however, they became turbulent again largely because they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had been sent out to relieve Lucullus for the reasons mentioned, was drawing near, and they accordingly regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a mere private citizen. Lucullus, then, was in perplexity, both for these reasons and because Marcius [Rex], Acilius' predecessor, who was on his way to Cilicia, his destined province, had refused a request of his for aid. He hesitated, on the one hand, to strike camp with no purpose in view, and he feared, on the other hand, to stand his ground; hence he set out against Tigranes, to see if he could repulse him while off his guard and tired from the march, and at the same time put a stop somehow to the mutiny of the soldiers. However, he attained neither object. The army accompanied him to a certain spot from which it was possible to turn aside into Cappadocia, when all with one consent without a word turned off in that direction. The Valerians, indeed, learning that they had been discharged by the authorities at home, withdrew altogether. B.C. 67

Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved himself most skilful of all men in generalship, who was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army for warfare, and who had vanquished two power-

ἐπικρατήσας, ἑλών τ' ἂν εἴπερ ταχέως διαπολεμῆσαι ἐβεβούλητο, οὐκ ἐδύνατο τῶν συστρατευομένων οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἀεί τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τέλος
2 ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτόν. πολλά τε γάρ σφισι προσέταττε, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκριβής τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτήσεσι καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὢν οὐκ ἠπίστατο οὔτε λόγῳ τινὰ[1] προσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὐ τιμαῖς,[2] οὐ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσεταιρίσασθαι, ὧν πάντων ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλήθει, καὶ μάλιστα
3 στρατευομένῳ, δεῖ. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται, ἕως μὲν εὖ τε ἐφέροντο καὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἀνταξίας τῶν κινδύνων εἶχον, ἠκροῶντο αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔπταισαν καὶ ἐς φόβον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντικατέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος λαβὼν (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Οὐαλεριείους αὖθις κατελέξατο) οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν στασιάζοντας ἔσχε. τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει.

17 Ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἔπραξαν, πᾶσάν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμήνατο, μήτε Λουκούλλου, προφάσει τοῦ τὸν Ἀκίλιον ἐγγὺς εἶναι, μήτε ἐκείνου προσαμύνοντος αὐτῇ·[3] ἐπειγόμενος γὰρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου νίκην ὑφαρπάσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ᾔσθετο, οὔτε πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἦλθε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
2 ἐχρόνισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Λουκούλλῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρόσχημα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς οὐκ ἐθελήσαντάς οἱ ἀκολουθῆσαι ποιησάμενος, ἐς δὲ τὴν

[1] τινὰ Oddey, τινὶ VP. [2] τιμαῖς Rk., τιμῆς VP.
[3] αὐτῇ Reim., αὐτῆς VP.

ful kings and would have captured them if he had chosen to end the war quickly, was unable to control his men, and that they were always revolting and finally deserted him. For he required a great deal of them, was difficult of access, strict in his demands for work, and inexorable in his punishments; he did not understand how to win over a man by persuasion, or to attach him by mildness, or to make a friend of him by conferring honours or bestowing wealth—all of which means are necessary, especially with a large crowd, and most of all with a crowd on a campaign. Hence the soldiers, as long as they prospered and got booty that was a fair return for their dangers, obeyed him; but when they encountered trouble and fear took the place of their hopes, they no longer heeded him at all. The proof of this is that Pompey took these same men—for he enrolled the Valerians again—and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does one man differ from another. B.C. 67

After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and caused great havoc in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself. For the latter had been hurrying in the first place to rob Lucullus of the victory, and now, when he learned what had taken place, he did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. Instead, he went to Cilicia,

Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχόν τινα ἀπαυτομο-
λήσαντα[1] ἀπὸ τοῦ[2] Τιγράνου ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν
Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου δέει
τῶν ἐν τῇ Νισίβι γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν
ἐπέστησεν· ἀδελφὴν γάρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνος
3 γυναῖκα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἁλούς τε ἐς καταποντι-
στάς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὑπ'[3] αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ
Πομπηίου φόβον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συ-
ρίας ἦλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους, πρὸς οὓς
τότε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κἀνταῦθα
στασιάζων τινὰς ὁμοίως ὀλίγου διεφθάρη.

Xiphilinus

17ª Καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου, ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης ξυμπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ὅσον ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν, ἐμποδιζόμενός τε καὶ κωλυόμενος ὡς αὐτῷ προσηκουσῶν καὶ τῶν νήσων. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἄκοντος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβόν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.—Xiphil. p. 1, 13–20 Dind.

18 . . . φείδεται. δυναστείας τε ἐρῶν καὶ τοῖς Κρησὶ τοῖς ὁμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἐφρόντιζε, κακῶσαί τε αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπελθεῖν ἠπείγετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος ἄνευ δυνάμεως παρὼν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτο) ἡσυχίαν ἦγε·

[1] ἀπαυτομολήσαντα H. Steph., ἐπαυτομολήσαντα VP.
[2] ἀπὸ τοῦ Bs., τοῦ VP. [3] ὑπ' St., ἀπ' VP.

where he received one Menemachus, a deserter from Tigranes, and also Clodius, who had left Lucullus out of fear because of the occurrence at Nisibis; the latter he put in command of the fleet, for he, too, had married one of Clodius' sisters. Now Clodius, after being captured by the pirates and released by them in consequence of their fear of Pompey, came to Antioch in Syria, declaring that he would be their ally against the Arabians, with whom they were then at variance. There, likewise, he stirred up a sedition and all but lost his life. B.C. 67

Xiphilinus

And [Metellus] later subjugated the entire island, although he was hindered and restrained by Pompey the Great, who was now in command of the whole sea and of the mainland for a three-days' march from the coast; for Pompey asserted that the islands also belonged to him. Nevertheless in spite of Pompey's opposition Metellus put an end to the Cretan war, celebrated a triumph in honour thereof, and was given the title of Creticus.

. . . [Metellus] spared. In his eagerness for power he attacked even the Cretans who had come to terms with the other [Pompey], and heedless of their claim that there was a truce, hastened to do them injury before Pompey should come up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet; in fact he had not been sent to do any fighting, but

καὶ Κορνήλιος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχων ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Κρήτην, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐπύθετο, καὶ παρῄνεσε τῷ Μετέλλῳ φείσασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ
2 μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξέ τι μὴ πείσας. ἄλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἑλὼν ἠργυρολόγησε· πύργον γάρ τινα οἱ προδιδόντες ἔκ τε πλίνθων πεποιημένον καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχώτατόν τε ὄντα ὄξει συνεχῶς νυκτὸς διέβρεξαν, ὥστε θραυστὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λάππαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀκταουίου αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἷλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ
19 Κίλικας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἔφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος οὐκέθ' ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ (νοσήσας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐτεθνήκει) χρώμενος ἐπεβοήθει πῃ τοῖς κακουμένοις, ἔπειτα δ' ἀνακομισθέντων αὐτῶν πρός τε τὸν Ἀριστίωνα ἐς Ἱεράπυδνα[1] ἦλθε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμει· οὗτος γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησε Λούκιόν τέ τινα Βάσσον ἀνταναχθέντα οἱ ἐνίκησε καὶ
2 τὰ Ἱεράπυδνα[1] κατέλαβε. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μετέλλου ἐπιόντος σφίσι τό τε τεῖχος ἐξέλιπον, καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες χειμῶνί τε ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσόντες συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον. κἀκ τούτου ὁ Μέτελλος πᾶσαν τὴν
3 νῆσον ἐχειρώσατο. Κρῆτες μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐλεύθεροί τε πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην ὀθνεῖον μηδένα κτησάμενοι, κατεδουλώθησαν· Μέτελλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπίκλησιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πανάρη τόν τε Λασθένη

[1] Ἱεράπυδνα R. Steph., ἱερὰ πυδνα and ἱερὰ πύδνα L.

to take over the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of Greece, did, to be sure, when he heard the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare the towns, but on failing to persuade him offered no active opposition. Metellus in addition to many other injuries captured the city of Eleuthera by treachery and extorted money from it; for those who betrayed it had by night repeatedly saturated with vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took Lappa by storm, in spite of Octavius' occupancy of the place, and while he did the latter no harm, he put to death the Cilicians who were with him. Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet, but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the victims of oppression, and then, when these troops had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hierapydna and aided him in fighting. Aristion had just withdrawn from Cydonia, and after conquering one Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, had gained possession of Hierapydna. They held out for a time, but at the approach of Metellus left the stronghold and put to sea; they encountered a storm, however, and were driven ashore, losing many men. After this Metellus conquered the entire island. In this way the Cretans, who had been free through all preceding ages and had never had a foreign master, became enslaved; and from their subjugation Metellus obtained his title. He was, however, unable to have Panares and Lasthenes, whom he had B.C. 67

(καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἷλεν) οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πέμψαι ἐν
τοῖς ἐπινικίοις· ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος ἀναπείσας τῶν
δημάρχων τινὰ προαφείλετο αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ
κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ προσχωρή-
σαντας.

20 Λέξω δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὰ[1] κατὰ τοῦτον πῶς ἐγένετο.
οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύπουν μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς πλέοντας,
ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκοῦντας οἱ τὰς λῃστείας
ποιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο,
οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτό ποτε ἕως δ᾽ ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις
2 ἀνθρώπων ᾖ. ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν ἔν τε τόποις τισὶ
κἀν τῇ ὡραίᾳ[2] μόνῃ, κατ' ὀλίγους, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ
ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλῄστευον· τότε δέ, ἐξ οὗ πολλαχῇ
τε ἅμα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν
πόλεις ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς δια-
φεύγουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι ἐπηρτῶντο καὶ ἀδεὲς
οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, πάμπολλοι πρὸς λῃστείαν ἐτρά-
3 ποντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις λῃστικά, ἅτε
καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν δήμων μᾶλλον ὄντα, καὶ
τήν τε αἴσθησιν τῆς βλάβης ἐγγύθεν καὶ τὴν
σύλληψιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴν ἔχοντα, ῥᾷόν πως
κατελύετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
4 ἐπηυξήθη. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἀντι-
πολέμους[3] ἀσχολίαν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤκμασαν,
πολλαχόσε τε περιπλέοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς
ὁμοίους σφίσι προστιθέμενοι, ὥστε τινὰς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ συχνοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι.
21 καὶ εἴρηται μὲν ὅσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραξαν.
ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο,
ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τούς τε
Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφῶν ἐκακούργη-

[1] τὰ Leuncl., τὸ L. [2] ὡραίᾳ Rk., ὥρᾳ L.
[3] ἀντιπολέμους Bernhardy, ἀντιπολεμίους L.

also captured, march in his triumph; for Pompey got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted in the settlement and not to Metellus. B.C. 67

I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same. But formerly free-booting was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the summer on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places at once, and many cities had been overthrown, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives, and there was no freedom from fear for anyone anywhere, large numbers had turned to plundering. Now the operations of the bandits on land, being in better view of the towns, which could thus perceive the injury close at hand and capture the perpetrators with no great difficulty, would be broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. For while the Romans were busy with their antagonists, the pirates had gained great headway, sailing about to many quarters, and adding to their band all of like condition, to such an extent that some of them, after the manner of allies, assisted many others. Indeed, I have already related how much they accomplished in connection with others. When those wars had been ended, the pirates, instead of desisting, did much serious injury alone by themselves both to the Romans and to their

σαν. οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔτι ἀλλὰ στόλοις μεγάλοις ἔπλεον, καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ
2 ὄνομα αὐτοὺς μέγα κεκτῆσθαι· ἧγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον πρώτους μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἀσφαλῆ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὑπό τε τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τότ' ἐπ' ἀδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις ἐχρῶντο), ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας.
3 καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις ἀνταναχθῆναί σφισιν ἐτόλμησε, μάλιστα μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ἀπώλετο, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνίκησεν, ἀλλ' ἑλεῖν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βραχέος ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἔτεμνον καὶ κατεπίμπρων, οὐχ ὅτι χωρία καὶ ἀγρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ᾠκειοῦντο, ὥστε καὶ χειμάδια καὶ ὁρμητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλίᾳ γῇ ποιεῖσθαι.

22 Προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς μηδὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλύπουν. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
2 Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν· τά τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ αὐτόθεν μείζω σχήσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκφοβήσειν, ἂν μηδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπέχωνται, νομίζοντες, ἔς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ταύτῃ πόλεις καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ Ὤστια ἐσέπλεον καὶ τάς τε ναῦς
3 ἔκαιον καὶ πάνθ' ἥρπαζον. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδεμία σφῶν ἐπιστροφὴ ἐγίγνετο, τάς τε διατριβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ διώλλυσαν, τά τε σῦλα, ὅσα ἐλάμβανον, ἀδεῶς
4 ὥς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκείᾳ διετίθεντο. καὶ ἐλῄστευον

allies. They no longer sailed in small force, but in great fleets; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. First and foremost they robbed and pillaged those sailing the sea, no longer permitting them any safety even during the winter season, since as the result of their daring, practice, and success they made voyages in security even then; and next they despoiled even those in the harbours. For if any one ventured to put out against them, he would usually be defeated and perish; but even if he conquered, he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, and would ravage and set in flames not only farms and fields, but also whole cities; some places, however, they conciliated, so as to gain naval stations and winter quarters in a friendly land as it were. B.C. 67

As these operations of theirs met with success it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they inflicted many injuries on those even who had nothing to do with the sea. This is the way they treated not only the distant allies of Rome, but even Italy itself. For, believing that they would obtain greater gains in that quarter and also that they would terrify all the others still more if they did not even keep their hands off that country, they sailed into the very harbour of Ostia as well as other cities in Italy, burning the ships and pillaging everything. Finally, as no attention was paid to them, they took up their abode on the land, disposing fearlessly of whatever men they did not kill, and of whatever spoils they took, just as if they were in their own land. And though

μὲν ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι (οὐ γάρ που ἐν πάσῃ ἅμα τῇ θαλάσσῃ οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο), τοσαύτῃ μέντοι φιλίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικουρίας καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἀγνῶ-
5 σιν ὡς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσαν, ὅτι τούς τε θεραπεύοντάς τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκρούσαντάς τισι πάντες ἐλεηλάτουν.

23 Ἐς τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἤρθη ὥστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπροφύλακτον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἤκουον μέν που αὐτά, καί τινα καὶ ἑώρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπακτῶν ἐφοίτα σφίσι καὶ ἡ σιτοπομπία παντελῶς ἀπεκέκλειτο),
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχρῆν, φροντίδα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ ναυτικὰ καὶ στρατηγούς, ὥς που καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινοῦντο, ἔπραττον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω τοὺς συμμάχους δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὗ ἐν παντὶ ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ
3 πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὅ τι καὶ χρὴ πρᾶξαι. τῇ τε γὰρ συνεχείᾳ τῶν κινδύνων τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ μέγαν καὶ πολὺν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὁρῶντες ὄντα, καὶ οὔθ' ἅμα πᾶσί σφισιν οὔτ' αὖ καθ' ἑκάστους προσπολεμῆσαι δυνατὸν εἶναι νομίζοντες (ἀλλήλοις τε γὰρ συνεβοήθουν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἅμα ἀμήχανον ἦν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι) ἔν τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνελπιστίᾳ τοῦ κατορθώσειν τι πολλῇ ἐγέ-
4 νοντο, πρὶν δὴ Αὖλός τις Γαβίνιος[1] δήμαρχος

[1] Γαβίνιος Bk., γαουίνιος L regularly.

some plundered here and some there, since of course it was not possible for the same persons to do harm throughout the whole length of the sea at once, they nevertheless showed such friendship one for another as to send money and assistance even to those entirely unknown, as if to their nearest of kin. In fact, this was one of the chief sources of their strength, that those who paid court to any of them were honoured by all, and those who came into collision with any of them were despoiled by all. B.C. 67

To such an extent did the power of the pirates grow that their hostility became a grave and constant menace, admitting of no precaution and knowing no truce. The Romans, of course, heard of these deeds from time to time, and even saw a little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in general ceased coming in and the corn supply was shut off entirely; but they paid no serious attention to it at the proper time. Instead, they would send out fleets and generals only as they were stirred by individual reports, but accomplished nothing; on the contrary, they caused their allies all the greater distress by these very means, until they were finally reduced to the last extremity. Then at length they came together and deliberated for many days as to what really should be done. Wearied by the continued dangers and perceiving that the war against the pirates would be a great and extensive one, and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail them all at once or yet individually, inasmuch as they helped one another and there was no way of driving them back everywhere at once, the people fell into great perplexity and despair of making any successful move. In the end, however, one Aulus

γνώμην ἔδωκεν, εἴτ' οὖν τοῦ Πομπηίου καθέντος αὐτόν, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαί οἱ ἐθελήσας (οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησε· κάκιστος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἦν), στρατηγὸν ἕνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων· ἑλέσθαι, τρισί τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δυνάμει παμπληθεῖ μεθ' ὑποστρατήγων πολλῶν
5 χρησόμενον. ἄντικρυς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπεν· εὔδηλον δὲ ἦν ὅτι, ἂν ἅπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὅμιλος ἀκούσῃ, ἐκεῖνον αἱρήσεται.

24 Καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτω· τήν τε γὰρ ἐσήγησιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον παραχρῆμα πάντες πλὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἀπέκλιναν. αὕτη γὰρ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειρίσαι ᾑρεῖτο· καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ
2 τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδράντος δ' οὖν πῃ αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην ἐθορύβησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους ἐφορμῆσαι· καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ἐξεκεχωρήκεσαν, πάν-
3 τως ἂν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσωνα δὲ τὸν Γάιον τὸν ὕπατον (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε Ἀκιλίου ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο) συλληφθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐξῃτήσατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν[1] τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἀσμενίζοντες ἄν τίς σφας ζῆν ἐάσῃ, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους τοὺς ἐννέα ἀνέπεισαν ἐναντιω-
4 θῆναι τῷ Γαβινίῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, Λούκιος δὲ δή τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Λούκιος Ῥώσκιος ἐτόλμη-

[1] μὲν added by Rk.

Gabinius, a tribune, set forth his plan. He had either been prompted by Pompey or wished in any case to do him a favour; certainly he was not prompted by any love of the common welfare, for he was a most base fellow. His plan, then, was that they should choose from among the ex-consuls one general with full power against all the pirates, who should command for three years and have the use of a huge force, with many lieutenants. He did not directly utter Pompey's name, but it was easy to see that if once the populace should hear of any such proposition, they would choose him. B.C. 67

And so it came about. They adopted his motion and immediately all except the senate turned to Pompey. But that body preferred to suffer anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than put so great command into Pompey's hands; in fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very senate-house, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the feeling of the senators, they raised an uproar, even going so far as to rush upon them as they sat assembled; and if the senators had not gotten out of the way, they would certainly have killed them. So they all scattered and secreted themselves, except Gaius Piso the consul—for it was in the year of Piso and Acilius that these events took place; he was arrested and was about to perish for the others when Gabinius begged him off. After this the optimates themselves held their peace, happy if only they might be allowed to live, but tried to persuade the nine tribunes to oppose Gabinius. None of these, however, except one Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, would say a word in opposition, through fear of the multitude;

σαν μέν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν δὲ οὔτ' εἰπεῖν τι ὧν
ὑπέσχηντο οὔτε πρᾶξαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ κυρία
ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ τὴν γνώμην ἐπικυρωθῆναι ἔδει,
ἐνέστη, τάδε ἐγένετο.

5 Ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πάνυ ἄρξαι, καὶ
ἤδη γε ὑπό τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὑπὸ
τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἔτι τοῦτο, ἀλλ'
ἀτιμίαν τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ
ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνατῶν ὁρῶν, ἠβουλήθη δοκεῖν
6 ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ἥκιστα
προσποιούμενος ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν ἤθελε· τότε δὲ καὶ
μᾶλλον, διά τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἄν γε ἑκὼν τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ[1] εὐκλεὲς ἄν γε
καὶ ἄκων ὥς γε καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος[2] ὢν
ἀποδειχθῇ, ἐπλάττετο.

25 Καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη "χαίρω μὲν τιμώμενος ὑφ'
ὑμῶν, ὦ Κυρῖται· φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι
καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζονται ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν
εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ ἐγώ, ἅτε δὴ πολλάκις τῆς παρ'
ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολελαυκώς, οὐκ ἔχω πῶς κατ' ἀξίαν
ἡσθῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὐ μέντοι οὔθ' ὑμῖν νομίζω
προσήκειν ἀπλήστως οὕτω πρός με διακεῖσθαι,
οὔτε ἐμοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔν τινι ἡγεμονίᾳ εἶναι. αὐτός
τε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων κέκμηκα, καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ περὶ
2 τοὺς ἄλλους σπουδάζειν. ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅσα
μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν πολέμῳ ἐταλαιπώρησα,
καίτοι κομιδῇ νέος ὤν, ὅσα δὲ ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἔκαμον, μηδέπω καθαρῶς ἐς
ἐφήβους τελῶν, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκινδύνευσα,
μηδὲ βουλεύων πω; ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν οὐχ ὅτι

[1] τὸ Leuncl., τοῦτο τὸ L.
[2] ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγότατος L.

and those two men, who had the courage, were B.C. 67
unable to fulfil any of their promises by either word or deed. For when the appointed day came on which the measure was to be ratified, things went as follows.

Pompey, who was very eager to command, and because of his own ambition and the zeal of the populace no longer now so much regarded this commission as an honour as the failure to win it a disgrace, when he saw the opposition of the optimates, desired to appear forced to accept. He was always in the habit of pretending as far as possible not to desire the things he really wished, and on this occasion did so more than ever, because of the jealousy that would follow, should he of his own accord lay claim to the leadership, and because of the glory, if he should be appointed against his will as the one most worthy to command.

He now came forward and said: "I rejoice, Quirites, in being honoured by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by their fellow-citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honours at your hands, scarcely know how to be properly pleased on the present occasion. Nevertheless, I do not think it fitting either that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services or that I myself should continually be in some position of command. For I have toiled since boyhood, and, as for you, you ought to be favouring others as well. Do you not recall how many hardships I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, and how many labours in Sicily and in Africa before I had as yet come fully of age, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain before I was even a senator? I will not

3 ἀχάριστοι πρός με ἐγένεσθε ἐρῶ. πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρ' ὑμῶν ἠξιώθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευθῆναί με τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον στρατηγίαν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου μήτ' ἐθελήσαντος μήτε δυνηθέντος αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, τό τε ἐπινίκια καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον πέμψαι μεγίστην μοι τιμὴν
4 ἤνεγκεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλοὺς δὲ κινδύνους ὑπέμεινα, κατατέτριμμαι μὲν τὸ σῶμα, πεπόνημαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος ἔτ' εἰμὶ λογίζεσθε, μηδ' ὅτι ἔτη[1] τόσα καὶ τόσα
5 γέγονα ἀριθμεῖσθε. ἂν γάρ τοι καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἃς ἐστράτευμαι καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς κεκινδύνευκα ἀναριθμήσητε, πολύ γε πλείους αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐτῶν εὑρήσετε, καὶ μᾶλλον οὕτω πιστεύσετε ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς πόνους οὔτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας καρτερεῖν ἔτι δύναμαι.

26 "Εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέχοι, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ ἐπίφθονα καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν· ἅπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαί τι ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν), ἐμοὶ μέντοι βαρύτατα ἂν γένοιτο,
2 καὶ ὁμολογῶ γε μηδ'[2] ὑφ' ἑνὸς οὕτω τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δεινῶν μήτε ἐκταράττεσθαι μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἡδέως παρ' ἀνθρώποις φθονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ζῴη, τίς δ' ἂν δημόσιόν τι διοικῆσαι προθυμηθείη μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχῃ, δίκην ὑφέξειν, ἂν δὲ
3 κατορθώσῃ, ζηλοτυπηθήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν

[1] ὅτι ἔτη Bs., ὅτι L. Madvig had supplied ἔτη before γέγονα. [2] μηδ' Bk., μὴ L.

say that you have shown yourselves ungrateful toward me for all these labours. How could I? On the contrary, in addition to the many other important favours of which you have deemed me worthy, the very fact that I was entrusted with the command against Sertorius, when no one else was either willing or able to undertake it, and that I celebrated a triumph, contrary to custom,[1] upon resigning it, brought me the greatest honour. But inasmuch as I have undergone many anxieties and many dangers, I am worn out in body and wearied in soul. Do not keep reckoning that I am still young, and do not calculate that I am so and so many years old. For if you will count up the campaigns that I have made as well as the dangers I have faced, you will find them far more in number than my years, and in this way you will more readily believe that I can no longer endure either the hardships or the anxieties. B.C. 67

"If any of you, now, should persist in your demand, in spite of all this, just observe that all such positions are causes of jealousy and hatred. This consideration you hold of no account—indeed, it is not fitting that you should pretend to regard it—but to me it would prove most grievous. And I confess that I am not so much disturbed or troubled by any danger to be encountered in the midst of wars as by such a position. For what person in his right mind could take pleasure in living among men who are jealous of him? And who would be eager to carry out any public business if destined in case of failure to stand trial, and in case of success to incur jealousy? In view, then, of these and other con-

[1] Pompey was the first knight to celebrate a triumph.

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα συγχωρήσατε τήν τε ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πράττειν, ἵν' ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμεληθῶ καὶ μὴ κατατριφθεὶς ἀπόλωμαι· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς ἄλλον χειροτονήσατε. συχνοὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ βουλόμενοι ναυαρχῆσαι καὶ δυνάμενοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ὥστε τὴν αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν
4 ῥᾳδίαν ἐκ πολλῶν γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ που ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἐμπείρως τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ χαρίζεσθαί τισι δόξω ὀνομαστὶ καταλέξας."

27 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν "Πομπήιος μέν, ὦ Κυιρῖται, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἠθῶν ποιεῖ, μήτε ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε διδομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξ
2 ἐπιδρομῆς δεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρχειν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ[1] πράγματ' ἔχειν ἐθέλειν· κἀν τούτῳ προσήκει πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα μετ' ἐπισκέψεως ὑφίστασθαι, ἵν' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ὁμοίως πράξῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προπετὲς ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὀξύτερον καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τοῦ καιροῦ γιγνόμενον, πολλοὺς σφάλλει, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὅμοιον διατελεῖ ὂν καὶ πάντας ὀνίνησιν.
3 ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρὴ μὴ τὸ τούτῳ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ἑλέσθαι. οὐ γάρ που τοὺς σπουδαρχοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προστάττειν τοῖς πράγμασι προσήκει· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ πάνυ πολλούς, τοιοῦτον δὲ δή τινα ἄλλον
4 οὐδένα εὑρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οἷα

[1] τὰ added by Bs.

siderations allow me to remain undisturbed and to attend to my own business, so that now at last I may bestow some care upon my private affairs and may not perish from exhaustion. Against the pirates elect somebody else. There are many who are at once willing and able to serve as admirals, both young men and old, so that your choice from so many becomes easy. Surely I am not the only one who loves you, nor am I alone skilled in warfare; so also is this man, and the next man—not to seem to favour anybody by mentioning names." B.C. 67

When he had delivered this speech, Gabinius answered him, saying: "Pompey's behaviour in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character: he does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it off-hand when offered to him. For a good man has no business, in any case, to desire to hold office and to manage public affairs; and in the present instance it is fitting that one should undertake all the tasks imposed only after due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Rashness in making promises, which leads to inopportune haste also in carrying them out, causes the downfall of many; but sureness at the outset remains the same in action, and is to the advantage of all. You, however, must choose not what is pleasing to Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office-seekers, but those who are capable should be put in charge of affairs; the former are very numerous, but you will not find any other such man as Pompey. Recall, furthermore, how many reverses and how serious we

ἐπάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ
στρατηγοῦ δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδένα ἕτερον οὔτε
τῶν νεωτέρων οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἁρμόζοντα
αὐτῷ εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ[1] τοῦτον καὶ τότε μηδέπω
μήθ' ἡλικίαν ἔχοντα μήτε βουλεύοντα καὶ ἀντὶ
5 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεπέμψαμεν. βουλοίμην
μὲν γὰρ ἂν πολλοὺς ὑμῖν ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι,
καὶ εἴγε καὶ εὔξασθαι δεῖ, εὐξαίμην ἄν· ἐπεὶ δ'
οὔτ'[2] εὐχῆς[3] τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτό ἐστιν οὔτ' αὐτόμα-
τόν τῳ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ φῦναί τινα
πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα,
καὶ ἀσκῆσαι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ χρῆσθαι, ἅπερ που σπανιώτατα ἂν τῷ
6 αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβαίη, χρὴ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδόν,
ὅταν τις τοιοῦτος εὑρεθῇ, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν
καὶ καταχρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, κἂν μὴ βούληται.
καλλίστη γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι
καὶ τῷ παθόντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὅτι σωθείη ἂν
ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὅτι σώσειεν ἂν τοὺς πολίτας,
ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅ γε χρηστὸς
καὶ φιλόπολις ἑτοιμότατα ἂν ἐπιδοίη.

28 "Ἢ οἴεσθε ὅτι Πομπήιος οὗτος ἐν μὲν μειρακίῳ
καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα
αὔξειν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τά τε τῶν
ἀνθισταμένων προσκτᾶσθαι ἐδύνατο, νῦν δὲ ἀκμά-
ζων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὢν ἐν ᾗ πᾶς τις ἄρισ-
τος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ[4] γίγνεται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν
πολέμων πλείστην ὅσην προσειληφώς, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν
2 χρησιμώτατος γένοιτο; ἀλλ' ὃν ἔφηβον ὄντα ἄρχειν
εἵλεσθε, τοῦτον ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἀποδοκιμάσετε;

[1] ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ καὶ L. [2] οὔτ' Bk., οὐδ' L.
[3] εὐχῆς Xyl., εὐχαῖς L. [4] αὑτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.

experienced in the war against Sertorius through B.C. 67
lack of a general, and that we found no one else equal to the task, either among the young or the old, except this man, and that we actually sent him out in place of both consuls, although at that time he neither had reached the proper age as yet nor was a member of the senate. I should be glad, of course, if you had a great many able men, and if I ought to pray for such, I would so pray; but since this ability is not a matter of prayer and does not come of its own accord to any one, but a man must be born with a natural bent for it, must learn what is pertinent and practise what is fitting and above everything must enjoy good fortune throughout,—all which would very rarely fall to the lot of the same man,—you must all with one accord, whenever such an one is found, both support him and make the fullest use of him, even if he does not wish it. Such compulsion proves most noble both in him who exerts it and in him who suffers it: to the former because he may be saved by it, and to the latter because he may thus save the citizens, in whose behalf the excellent and patriotic man would most readily give up both body and life.

"Or do you think that this Pompey who in his boyhood could make campaigns, lead armies, increase your possessions, preserve those of your allies, and acquire those of your adversaries, could not now, in the prime of life, when every man is at his best, and with a great fund of added experience gained from wars, prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man's estate, him whom as a youth you chose as leader? Will you not confide

καὶ ᾧ ἱππεῖ ἔτ' ὄντι τοὺς πολέμους ἐκείνους
ἐνεχειρίσατε, τούτῳ βουλῆς γεγονότι τὴν στρα-
3 τείαν ταύτην οὐ πιστεύσετε; καὶ οὗ καὶ πρὶν
ἀκριβῶς πειραθῆναι, μόνου πρὸς τὰ τότε κατ-
επείξαντα ὑμᾶς ἐδεήθητε, τούτῳ νῦν, ἱκανώτατα
αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένοι, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἧττον
ἐκείνων ἀναγκαῖα ὄντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ ὃν
οὐδὲ ἄρχειν ἔτι πω καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν
Σερτώριον ἐχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτον ὑπατευκότα
4 ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ
μήθ' ὑμεῖς ἄλλως πως ποιήσητε, καὶ σύ, ὦ
Πομπήιε, πείσθητι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι.
ταύτῃ γὰρ γεγέννησαι καὶ ταύτῃ τέθραψαι· καὶ
δεῖ σε τοῖς τε συμφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δουλεύειν, καὶ
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε πόνον τινὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ἐξί-
στασθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται,
μὴ τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἀναμεῖναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστυ-
29 χόντι θανάτῳ χρῆσθαι. γελοῖος δὲ δήπουθέν
εἰμι ταῦτα ἐγὼ σοὶ παραινῶν, ὅστις ἐν τοσούτοις
καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ
2 τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὔνοιαν ἐπιδέδειξαι. πεί-
σθητι οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις, μηδὲ ὅτι τινὲς
φθονοῦσι φοβηθῇς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
μᾶλλον σπούδασον, ὥστε πρός τε τὴν παρὰ τῶν
πλειόνων φιλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασκαινόντων σε κατα-
3 φρόνει. καὶ εἴγε καὶ λυπῆσαί τι αὐτοὺς ἐθέλεις,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρξον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνιάσῃς
παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγεμονεύσας καὶ εὐδοκι-
μήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτοῦ τέλος τοῖς προ-
κατειργασμένοις ἐπαγάγῃς, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξας."

this campaign to the man, now become a member of the senate, to whom while still a knight you committed those wars? Will you not, now that you have most amply tested him, entrust the present emergency, no less pressing than the former ones, to him for whom alone you asked in the face of those urgent dangers, even before you had carefully tested him? Will you not send out against the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom, before he could yet properly hold office, you chose against Sertorius? Nay, do not think of adopting any other course; and as for you, Pompey, do you heed me and your country. For her you were born, for her you were reared. You must serve her interests, shrinking from no hardship or danger to secure them; and should it become necessary for you to lose your life, you must in that case not await your appointed day but meet whatever death comes to you. But truly it is absurd for me to offer this advice to you who have in so many and so great conflicts exhibited both your bravery and your love for your country. Heed me, therefore, as well as these citizens here, and do not fear because some are envious. Rather press on all the more for this very reason, and in comparison with the friendship of the majority and the common advantage of us all, scorn your traducers. And, if you are willing even to grieve them a little, take command for this very reason, that you may vex them by conducting the war and winning applause contrary to their expectations, and that you may yourself set a crown worthy of yourself upon your former achievements, by ridding us of many great evils." B.C. 67

30 Τοιαῦτα δὴ τοῦ Γαβινίου εἰπόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος
ἐπειράθη μὲν ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς δ᾽ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἔτυ-
2 χεν, ἠναντιοῦτο μὴ[1] τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι. ὁ οὖν
Γαβίνιος ἀγανακτήσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομ-
πηίου διαψήφισιν ἐπέσχεν, ἑτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνου ἀντεσῆγε· καὶ ἔδοξεν ἑπτακαίδεκα φυλαῖς
ταῖς πρώταις χρηματισάσαις ἀδικεῖν τε αὐτὸν
καὶ μηκέτι χρῆναι δημαρχεῖν. μελλούσης οὖν
καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι
3 μόλις ποτὲ ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐσιώπησεν. ἰδὼν δὲ
τοῦτο ὁ Ῥώσκιος φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλ-
μησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ χεῖρα ἀνατείνων δύο ἄνδρας
ἐκέλευέ σφας ἑλέσθαι, ὅπως ἔν γε τούτῳ τῆς
δυναστείας τι[2] τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμοιτο.
ταῦτ᾽ οὖν αὐτοῦ χειρονομοῦντος ὁ ὅμιλος μέγα
καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ὥστε κόρακά τινα
ὑπερπετόμενόν σφων ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν
4 ὥσπερ ἐμβρόντητον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖ-
νος μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ ἔτι μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἤγαγεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτουλος
ἄλλως μὲν ἐσιώπα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γαβινίου προτρε-
ψαμένου τι αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τά τε πρῶτα τῆς
βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει δι᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
5 ὁμογνωμονήσειν σφίσι (καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζεν αὐτόν,
ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας εἶδε, συνε-
παινέσειν), λόγου τε ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ᾐδοῦντο
πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς τὰ συμφέροντά σφισι
καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε
τοιάδε.
31 "Ὅτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολήν, ὦ Κυιρῖται, πρὸς τὸ
πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσπούδακα, πάντες που σαφῶς

[1] μὴ Bk., τὸ μὴ L. [2] τι added by St. from Xiph.

When Gabinius had thus expressed himself, Trebellius attempted to speak in opposition; but failing to receive leave to speak, he proceeded to oppose the taking of a vote. Gabinius was naturally incensed, and postponed the vote regarding Pompey, while he introduced a new motion concerning Trebellius himself. The first seventeen tribes to give their decision voted that Trebellius was at fault and ought no longer to be tribune. And not until the eighteenth was on the point of voting the same way was he with difficulty induced to maintain silence. Roscius, seeing this, did not dare to utter a word, but by a gesture of his raised hand urged them to choose two men, so that he might by so doing cut off a little of Pompey's power. At this gesture of his the crowd gave a great threatening shout, whereat a crow flying above their heads was so startled that it fell as if struck by lightning. After that Roscius kept quiet not only with his tongue but with his hand as well. Catulus would have remained silent, but Gabinius urged him to make some speech, inasmuch as he was the foremost man in the senate and it seemed likely that through him the rest might be brought to the same way of thinking; for it was Gabinius' expectation that he would join in approving the proposal as a result of the plight in which he saw the tribunes. Accordingly Catulus received permission to speak, since all respected and honoured him as one who at all times spoke and acted for their advantage, and he addressed them somewhat as follows: B.C. 67

"That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of you, the people, you all, no doubt, clearly

ἐπίστασθε· τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πάντα ἁπλῶς, ἃ γιγνώσκω συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑμῖν προσῆκον ἀκοῦσαί τε μεθ' ἡσυχίας αὐτῶν
2 *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βουλεύσασθαι· θορυβήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τι καὶ χρήσιμον δυνηθέντες ἂν μαθεῖν οὐχὶ λήψεσθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς*
3 *εὑρήσετε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστά φημι δεῖν μηδενὶ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ*[1] *τοσαύτας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται καὶ πείρᾳ σφαλερώτατον ὂν πεφώραται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτους τε ἐν ὀλιγίστῳ χρόνῳ πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ*
4 *ὕπατος ἑξάκις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐγένετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλαν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἔσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δικτάτωρ, εἶθ' ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ψυχήν, μὴ ὅτι νέαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέραν, ἐν ἐξουσίαις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψασαν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν*[2] *ἐθέλειν ἐμ-*
32 *μένειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκώς τι τοῦ Πομπηίου λέγω, ἀλλ' ὅτι μήτ' ἄλλως συνενεγκόν ποτε ὑμῖν φαίνεται μήτε ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτέτραπται. καὶ γὰρ εἴτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῆς, οἷς γε ἐπιβάλλει, προσήκει τυγχάνειν (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δημοκρατία), εἴτε κάματον, καὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δεῖ (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἰσομοιρία).*

[1] *μηδενὶ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ* Rk., *μηδενὶ ἀνδρὶ* L. [2] *ἔθεσιν* Turn., *ἤθεσιν* L.

understand. This being so, it is incumbent upon me to set forth in simple fashion and with frankness what I know to be for the good of the state; and it is only fair for you to listen calmly and then deliberate afterwards. For, if you raise an uproar, you will perhaps fail to receive some useful suggestion which you might have heard; but if you pay attention to what is said, you will be sure to discover something definitely to your advantage. I, for my part, assert first and foremost that it is not proper to entrust to any one man so many positions of command one after another. This has not only been forbidden by the laws, but has also been found by experience to be most perilous. What made Marius what he became was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the shortest space of time and being made consul six times in the briefest period; and similarly Sulla became what he was because he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. For it does not lie in human nature for a person—I speak not alone of the young but of the mature as well—after holding positions of authority for a long period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs. Now I do not say this in any disparagement of Pompey, but because it does not appear ever to have been of advantage to you in any way, and in particular because it is not permitted by the laws. Indeed, if the command brings honour to those deemed worthy of it, all whom it concerns ought to obtain that honour,—this is democracy,—and if it brings labour, all ought to share that labour proportionately—this is equality. B.C. 67

2 "Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολλούς τε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι, καὶ ῥᾳδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν πιστευθῆναι δυναμένων πρὸς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησόντων τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρα-
3 πησομένων ἀνάγκη πᾶσα γίγνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ ἠπορήσατε,[1] ὅτι τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον τοῖς[2] αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐχρῆσθε. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἄξιός ἐστι Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε παρά τε τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διεληλεγμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἱρεθείη ἄν, ἥκιστα καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσήκει αὐτὸ πραχθῆναι.

33 "Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ ὑπάτων[3] καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων, οὔτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει παριδόντας[4] αὐτοὺς καινήν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐπεσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε[5]
2 συμφέρει. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εἴγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήσεσθε; οὐ γάρ που[6] ἵν' ἐν τοῖς περιπορφύροις ἱματίοις περινοστῶσιν, οὐδ' ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ
3 ἔργου αὐτῆς στέρωνται. πῶς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς τι πράττειν τῶν πολι-

[1] ἠπορήσατε R. Steph., ἠπορήσατο L. [2] τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς L.
[3] ὑπάτων Reim., ὄντων L. [4] παριδόντας Turn., παραδόντας L.
[5] οὔτε added by R. Steph. [6] οὐ γάρ που inserted by Bk.

"Now in such a course there is the further advantage that many individuals gain practical experience, so that your choice of those who can be entrusted with any needful business becomes easy as a result of your trial of them; but if you take the other course, it is quite inevitable that there should be a great scarcity of those who will give themselves the needful training and who will be entrusted with affairs. This is the chief reason why you were at a loss for a general in the war with Sertorius; for previous to that time you were accustomed to employ the same men for a long period. Consequently, even if in all other respects Pompey deserves to be elected against the pirates, still, inasmuch as he would be chosen contrary to the injunction of the laws and to the principles laid down by experience, it is anything but fitting for either you or him that this be done. B.C. 67

"This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second, there is the consideration that so long as consuls and praetors and those serving in their places are receiving their offices and commands conformably to the laws it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end, indeed, do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such occasions? Surely not that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that, clothed with the name alone of the office, they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to arouse the enmity of these and all the rest who have a

τικῶν προαιρουμένοις ἀπεχθήσεσθε, ἂν τὰς μὲν
πατρίους ἀρχὰς καταλύητε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων
χειροτονουμένοις μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπητε, ξένην δέ τινα
καὶ μηπώποτε γεγενημένην ἡγεμονίαν ἰδιώτῃ προσ-
34 τάξητε; εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους
ἀρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἴη ἑτέραν ἑλέσθαι, ἔστι καὶ
τούτου παράδειγμα ἀρχαῖον, λέγω δὲ τὸν δικτά-
τορα. καὶ τοῦτον μέντοι[1] τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὔτε ἐπὶ
πᾶσί ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν[2] οὔτε
2 ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἑξαμήνου κατεστήσαντο. ὥστ'
εἰ μὲν τοιούτου τινὸς δεῖσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, μήτε
παρανομήσασι μήτ' ὀλιγώρως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν
βουλευσαμένοις, δικτάτορα εἴτε Πομπήιον εἴτε
καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ προχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε πλείω
τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνον[3] μήτε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἄρξῃ. οὐ γάρ που ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δεινῶς
οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφυλάξαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθείη
δικτάτωρ οὐδεὶς ἄλλοσε[4] πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς Σικελίαν,
3 καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν πράξαντος, αἱρεθείς. εἰ δ'[5] οὔτε
δεῖται ἡ Ἰταλία τοιούτου τινός, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὑπο-
μείναιτε ἔτι οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα (δῆλον δὲ ἐξ ὧν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἠγα-
νακτήσατε), πῶς δ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι καινὴν ἡγεμονίαν,
καὶ ταύτην ἐς ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν
καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω πράγμασιν,
4 ἀποδειχθῆναι; ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου δεινὰ ταῖς
πόλεσι συμβαίνει, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὰς παρανόμους
φιλαρχίας τόν τε δῆμον ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐτάραξαν

[1] μέντοι Turn., μὲν L.
[2] ἡμῶν R. Steph., ὑμῶν L.
[3] χρόνον Naber, χρόνου L.
[4] ἄλλοσε Bk., ἄλλος L.
[5] εἰ δ' Rk., ἢ L.

purpose to enter public life at all, if you overthrow the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign some strange and hitherto unheard-of command to a private individual? Yet if there should be any necessity of choosing another in addition to the annual officials, there is for this, too, an ancient precedent—I refer to the dictator. However, because this official held such power, our fathers did not appoint one on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly, if you require any such official, you may, without either transgressing the laws or forming plans in disregard of the common welfare, elect Pompey himself or any one else as dictator—on condition that he shall not hold office longer than the appointed time nor outside of Italy. For surely you are not unaware that this second limitation, too, was scrupulously observed by our forefathers, and no instance can be found of a dictator chosen for another country, except one[1] who was sent to Sicily and who, moreover, accomplished nothing. But if Italy requires no such person, and you would no longer tolerate, I will not say the functions of the dictator, but even the name,—as is clear from your anger against Sulla,—how could it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and outside? For you all alike understand what disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of their lawless lust for B.C. 67

[1] Aulus Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249.

καὶ αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς[1] *μυρία κακὰ εἰργάσαντο, πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπίστασθε.*

35 *"Ὥστε περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὔτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχει οὔτε συμφέρει ἑνί τινι τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ἕνα τινὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν κύριον γίγνεσθαι, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἄριστός τις ᾖ; αἵ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ ὑπέρογκοι ἐξουσίαι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν.*
2 *ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἕνα ἄνδρα πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάρξαι καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὀρθῶς διοικῆσαι. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ τι τῶν δεόντων ποιήσετε, πανταχῇ ἅμα αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδ'*[2] *αὖ τὰς ἀναφυγὰς πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πολεμουμένους ἔχοντες, δύσληπτοι*
3 *γένωνται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδένα ἂν τρόπον εἷς τις ἄρξας πρᾶξαι δυνηθείη· πῶς*[3] *γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, τῇ τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ, τῇ τε Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, τῷ τε Ἰονίῳ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις πολεμήσειε; πολλοὺς μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστῆναι δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν,*
36 *εἴπερ τι ὄφελος αὐτῶν ἔσται· εἰ δὲ δή τις ἐκεῖνό φησιν, ὅτι κἂν ἑνί τῳ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψητε, πάντως που καὶ ναυάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους πολλοὺς ἕξει, πῶς οὐ πολὺ δικαιότερον καὶ συμφορώτερον (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι) καὶ τί κωλύει τούτους αὖ τοὺς ὑπάρξειν ἐκείνῳ μέλλοντας καὶ προχειρισθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν*
2 *ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοτελῆ λαβεῖν; οὕτω μὲν*

[1] αὑτοὺς added by Rk. [2] μηδ' Bk., μήτ' L. [3] πῶς Bk., ποῦ L.

rule have often disturbed our populace and brought upon themselves countless evils. B.C. 67

"About this, then, I shall say no more. For who does not realize that it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, to entrust affairs to any one man, or for any one man to be put in control of all the blessings we have, however excellent he may be? Great honours and excessive powers excite and ruin even such persons. And what is more, I ask you to consider this fact also, that it is not really possible for one man to hold sway over the whole sea and to manage the whole war properly. For you must, if you are going to accomplish any of the needful results, make war on them everywhere at once, so that they may not, either by uniting or by finding a refuge among those not involved in war, become hard to capture. But no one man in command could by any manner of means accomplish this. For how could he fight on the same days in Italy and in Cilicia, Egypt and Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the islands? Consequently it is necessary for many soldiers and generals also to be in command of affairs, if they are going to be of any use to you. And in case any one urges that, even if you confide the entire war to some one man, he will in any case have many admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be: Is it not much more just and advantageous that these men destined to serve under him be chosen by you beforehand for this very purpose and receive independent authority from you? What prevents such a course? By this plan they will pay better heed to the

γὰρ καὶ φροντιοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἅτε καὶ ἰδίαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν μερίδα πεπιστευμένος καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἕτερον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκριβέστερον, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἂν ἐργάσωνται αὐτοὶ κτησόμενοι· ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα μὲν ὁμοίως οἴεσθε . . . ἄλλῳ τῷ ὑποκείμενον, τίνα δ' ἀπροφασίστως ὁτιοῦν ποιήσειν, μέλλοντα μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ κρατήσειν;

3 "Ὥσθ' ὅτι μὲν εἷς οὐδ' ἂν δύναιτο τοσοῦτον ἅμα πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου ὡμολόγηται· πολλοὺς γοῦν τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ συνεργοὺς ἀξιοῖ δοθῆναι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις ἐστὶ πότερόν ποτε ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑποστρατήγους,[1] καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορός τινος ἡγεμονίας ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνου μόνου ἐφ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, πεμ-
4 φθῆναι δεῖ. οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν καὶ νομιμώτερον καὶ συμφορώτερον[2] καὶ πρὸς τἆλλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς λῃστὰς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω ἐστί, πᾶς ἄν τις ὑμῶν ὁμολογήσειε. χωρὶς δὲ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὁρᾶτε οἷόν ἐστι, τὸ πάσας ὑμῶν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προφάσει καταλυθῆναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μήτε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μήτε ἐν τῇ ὑπηκόῳ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον . . .[3]

[1] *ἢ ὑποστρατήγους* supplied by Bs.
[2] *καὶ συμφορώτερον* supplied by Reim.
[3] The following two fragments would seem to belong here if the number of the book is correctly given :—
Δίων λϛ' βιβλίῳ· "οὔτε ἀνεπίφθονον ἔσται αὐτῷ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων μοναρχῆσαι."—Bekk. Anecd. 157, 30.
Δίων λϛ' βιβλίῳ· "δεῖ δὲ δήπου καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνδρα προνοεῖσθαι."—*Ib.* 166, 21.

war, since each of them will be entrusted with his own particular part in it and cannot lay upon any one else the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will be keener rivalry among them because they are independent and will themselves get the glory for whatever they achieve. But by the other plan what man, do you think, subordinate to some one else, will [show] the same [zeal], what man will perform any duty readily, when he is going to win victories not for himself but for another? B.C. 67

"That one man, now, could not at one time carry on so great a war has been admitted on the part of Gabinius himself; at any rate he asks for many assistants to be given to the one who shall be elected. The question remains, then, whether actual commanders or assistants should be sent, whether generals or lieutenants, and whether they should be commissioned by the entire populace with full authority, or by the commander alone for his assistance. Surely every one of you will admit that my proposal is more in accordance with law and more advantageous with reference to the freebooters themselves as well as in all other respects. And apart from this, observe how it looks for all your offices to be overthrown on the pretext of the pirates, and for none of them either in Italy or in subject territory during this time . . ." [1]

[1] The following two fragments are perhaps from the speech of Catulus:—

Dio, Book XXXVI. "Nor will his task as monarch over all your possessions be free from envy."

Dio, Book XXXVI. "And naturally the prudent man must take thought for such a contingency."

Xiphilinus

36[a] Κάτλου δέ τινος τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον "ἐὰν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεὶς σφαλῇ, οἷα ἔν γε[1] ἀγῶσι πολλοῖς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα εὑρήσετε;" ὁ ὅμιλος σύμπας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου τινὸς ἀνεβόησεν εἰπὼν "σέ." καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε νήσων καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐς τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄνω εἰλήφει.—Xiphil. p. 4, 2–11 Dind.

37 . . . τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, προσέταξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστρατήγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἦν[2]
2 ἑκάστοτε ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Πίσωνος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τῇ Ναβωνησίᾳ, ἧς ἦρχε, ποιήσασθαι, δεινῶς ὁ ὅμιλος ἠγανάκτησε· καὶ εὐθύς γ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ
3 Πομπήιος παρῃτήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ὡς τό τε πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ἀπῄτει, πᾶσαν ἅμα τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσην οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύπουν, τὰ μὲν αὐτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτῆς
4 αὐτοετὲς ἡμέρωσε. πολλῇ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῇ τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ

[1] γε Bk., τε VC. [2] ἦν Bs., εἶναι ἦν L.

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

Catulus, one of the aristocrats, had said to the people: "If he fails when sent out on this errand—as not infrequently happens in many contests, especially on the sea—what other man will you find to take his place for still more urgent tasks?" Thereupon the entire throng, as if by previous agreement, cried out and exclaimed: "You!" Thus Pompey secured command of the sea and of the islands and of the mainland for fifty miles[1] inland from the sea. B.C. 67

. . . and of Italy in place of consul for three years; and they assigned to him fifteen lieutenants and voted all the ships, money and armaments that he might wish to take. The senate also, though quite reluctantly, ratified these measures and likewise passed such others from time to time as were necessary to their effectiveness. Its action was prompted more particularly by the fact that when Piso refused to allow the under-officers to hold enlistments in Gallia Narbonensis, of which he was governor, the populace was furiously enraged and would straightway have removed him from office, had not Pompey begged him off. So, after making preparations as the situation and as his judgment demanded, Pompey patrolled at one time the whole stretch of sea that the pirates were troubling, partly by himself and partly through his lieutenants; and he subdued the greater part of it that very year. For not alone was the force that he directed vast both in point of fleet and infantry, so that he was

[1] Literally four hundred stades; here eight stades is taken as the equivalent of the Roman mile. Cf. p. 237 and note.

ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς οἱ, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
5 τοιούτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἡττώμενοι καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρώμενοι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε ἐς ἀνάγκην πονηρῶν ἔργων ὑπὸ πενίας ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας σφίσιν ὅσας ἐρήμους ἑώρα, καὶ πόλεις ὅσαι[1]
6 ἐποίκων ἐδέοντο, ἐδίδου. καὶ ἄλλαι τε ἐκ τούτου συνῳκίσθησαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηιόπολις ἐπικληθεῖσα· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ ἐπεπόρθητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, Σόλοι πρότερον ὠνομασμένη.

38 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου τοῦ τε Πίσωνος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκασμοῦ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἁλισκομένων[2] ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μήτ' ἄρχειν μήτε βουλεύειν σφῶν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα προσοφλισ-
2 κάνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἥ τε τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανεληλύθει, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν[3] διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τρόπον τινὰ[4] τὴν βουλείαν ἐσπούδαζον, συστάσεις καὶ παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφ' ἁπάσαις ταῖς
3 ἀρχαῖς ἐγίγνοντο. ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ ὕπατοι οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤχθοντο τῷ πράγματι (αὐτοὶ γὰρ διασπουδάσαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὅ γε Πίσων καὶ γραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς

[1] ὅσαι R. Steph., ὅσας L.
[2] ἁλισκομένων R. Steph., ἀναλισκομένων L.
[3] τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν Xyl., ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν τῶν L.
[4] τρόπον τινὰ Naber, πρότερόν τινα L.

irresistible both on sea and on land, but his leniency toward those who made terms with him was equally great, so that he won over large numbers by such a course; for those who were defeated by his troops and experienced his clemency went over to his side very readily. Besides other ways in which he took care of them he would give them any lands he saw vacant and cities that needed more inhabitants, in order that they might never again through poverty fall under the necessity of criminal deeds. Among the other cities settled at this time was the one called Pompeiopolis. It is on the coast of Cilicia and had been sacked by Tigranes; its former name was Soli. B.C. 67

Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, a law directed at men convicted of bribery in seeking office was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that any such person should neither hold office nor be a senator, and should incur a fine besides. For now that the power of the tribunes had been restored to its ancient status, and many of those whose names had been stricken off the list by the censors were aspiring to regain the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many factions and cliques were being formed aiming at all the offices. Now the consuls did not take this course because they were displeased at the practice; in fact they themselves were shown to have conducted a vigorous canvass, and Piso had actually been indicted on this charge, but had escaped being

ἑτέρου τινὸς ἐξεπρίατο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι)
4 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αἴ-
τιον δὲ ὅτι Γάιός τις Κορνήλιος δημαρχῶν πικρό-
τατα ἐπιτίμια τάξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ
αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὅμιλος ᾑρεῖτο. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ συνι-
δοῦσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἔκπληξίν τινα ἔχει, οὔτε δὲ
τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφιου-
μένους τῶν ὑπαιτίων, ἅτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αὐτῶν
5 ὄντων, ῥᾳδίως εὑρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτριον ἔς τε τὰς
κατηγορίας συχνοὺς προάγει καὶ τὰς καταψη-
φίσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσαι πῃ τὴν
ἐσήγησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις νομοθετῆσαι
39 αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἵ τε ἀρχαιρεσίαι
προεπηγγελμέναι ἦσαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν
προνομοθετηθῆναι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξῆν, καὶ οἱ σπουδ-
αρχιῶντες πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τούτῳ[1]
ἐποίουν, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς γίγνεσθαι, τόν τε νόμον
ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πρὸ[2] ἐκείνων ἐσενεχθῆναι καὶ
2 φρουρὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοθῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κορνήλιος γνώμην ἐποιήσατο
μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλευταῖς μήτε ἀρχήν τινι ἔξω
τῶν νόμων αἰτήσαντι διδόναι μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν
τῶν τῷ δήμῳ προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι·[3] τοῦτο
γὰρ ἐνενομοθέτητο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου, οὐ
3 μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐτηρεῖτο. θορύβου τε ἐπ'
αὐτῷ[4] πολλοῦ συμβάντος (καὶ[5] γὰρ ἀντέ-
πρασσον τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας
συχνοὶ καὶ ὁ Πίσων) τάς τε ῥάβδους αὐτοῦ ὁ
ὄχλος συνέτριψε καὶ αὐτὸν διασπάσασθαι ἐπε-

[1] τούτῳ Bs., τούτῳ χρόνῳ L. [2] πρὸ Turn., πρὸς L.
[3] ψηφίζεσθαι Turn., φημίζεσθαι L.
[4] αὐτῷ St., αὐτοῦ L. [5] καὶ Xyl., οὐ L.

brought to trial by bribing one man after another; B.C. 67 it was rather because they were forced to it by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius while tribune undertook to lay very severe penalties upon those guilty of bribery, and the populace adopted them. The senate, however, realizing that while excessive punishments have some deterrent force as threats, yet men are not then easily found to accuse or condemn those on trial, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation encourages many to accusations and does not prevent condemnations, was desirous of modifying his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law. But since the elections had already been announced, and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, and the canvassers were doing much mischief in the meanwhile, to such an extent even that assassinations occurred, the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, proposed that the senators should not be allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to usurp the people's right of decision in any other matter. This, indeed, had been the law from very early times, but it was not being observed in practice. When a great uproar arose at this, since Piso and a number of the senators opposed him, the crowd broke the consul's fasces to pieces and threatened

4 χείρησεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Κορνήλιος τότε μέν, πρὶν ἐπιψηφίσαι τι, διαφῆκε τὸν σύλλογον, ὕστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμῳ τήν τε βουλὴν πάντως περὶ αὐτῶν προβουλεύειν καὶ τὸν
40 δῆμον ἐπάναγκες ἐπικυροῦν τὸ προβούλευμα. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνόν τε διενομοθέτησε καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε.

Οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἃ δικάσειν ἔμελλον, αὐτοὶ[1] συγγράφοντες ἐξετίθεσαν· οὐ γάρ πω πάντα τὰ[2] δικαιώματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμ-
2 βόλαια διετέτακτο. ἐπεὶ οὖν[3] οὔτε ἐσάπαξ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν οὔτε τὰ γραφέντα ἐτήρουν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς χάριν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐγίγνετο, ἐσηγήσατο κατ' ἀρχάς τε εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια οἷς χρήσονται[4] προλέγειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ'
3 αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τό τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελὲς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸ μηδὲν δωροδοκεῖσθαι ἐγένετο ὥστε πρὸς τῷ τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν ἐτίμων. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν ταμίαν Πούπλιον Ὄππιον ἐπί τε δώροις καὶ ἐπὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποπέμψαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ
4 πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισαμένου, Γάιον Κάρβωνα τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ὑπατικαῖς καίπερ δεδημαρχηκότα μόνον, ἐσέμνυναν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἄρξας, καὶ μετριώτερον οὐδὲν τοῦ Κόττου πλημμελήσας, ἀντικατηγορήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ καὶ
5 ἀνθεάλω· πολλῷ γάρ που ῥᾷον ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶσί

[1] αὐτοὶ Leuncl., αὐτοῖς L. [2] τὰ Bk., ἃ L.
[3] ἐπεὶ οὖν Bk., ἐποίουν L.
[4] χρήσονται R. Steph., χρήσωνται L.

to tear him limb from limb. Cornelius, accordingly, B.C. 67 seeing their violence, dismissed the assembly for the time being before calling for any vote; later he added to the law a provision that the senate should invariably pass a preliminary decree concerning these matters and that it should be necessary for this decree to be ratified by the people. So he secured the passage of both that law and another now to be explained.

The praetors themselves had always compiled and published the principles of law according to which they intended to try cases; for the decrees regarding contracts had not all yet been laid down. Now since they were not in the habit of doing this once for all and did not observe the rules as written, but often made changes in them, many of which were introduced out of favour or out of hatred of some one, he moved that they should at the very outset announce the principles they would follow, and not swerve from them at all. In fine, the Romans were so concerned at that time to prevent bribery, that in addition to punishing those convicted they even honoured the accusers. For instance, after Marcus Cotta had dismissed the quaestor Publius Oppius because of bribery and suspicion of conspiracy, though he himself had made great profit out of Bithynia, they elevated Gaius Carbo, his accuser, to consular honours, although he had served only as tribune. But when Carbo himself later became governor of Bithynia and erred no less than Cotta, he was in his turn accused by Cotta's son and convicted. Some persons, of course, can more easily censure

τινες ἢ ἑαυτοῖς παραινοῦσι, καὶ προχειρότατά γε
ἐφ' οἷς τιμωρίας ἀξίους τοὺς πέλας εἶναι νομίζου-
σιν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν πίστιν ἐξ ὧν
ἑτέροις ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμ-
41 βάνειν· Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Λούκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρα-
τηγίαν τὴν οἴκοι διῆρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδοῦς ἄρξαι
μετ' αὐτὴν λαχὼν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μισήσας τὸ
πρᾶγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν τοῖς
ἔθνεσι δρῶντας. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς ἦν, ἱκανώτατα
2 διέδειξεν· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκιλίου συντριβῆναι τὸν δί-
φρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐδίκαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παρ-
ιόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐξανέστη, οὔτ' ὀργῇ
ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς
καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκεῖνον διεδίκασαν.
42 Ἐσήνεγκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥώσκιος νόμον, ἐσή-
νεγκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ὁ[1] Μάλλιος, ὅτε ἐδημάρχη-
σεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μέν (τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἱππέων τὰς
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἕδρας ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἀφώρισε) καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπ' αὐτῷ[2] ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ
Μάλλιος καὶ δίκην ὀλίγου ὑπέσχε· τῷ γὰρ ἔθνει
τῷ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔν τε τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ ἔτους
ἡμέρᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, παρασκευάσας τινὰς ἐκ
τοῦ ὁμίλου, ψηφίσασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθερω-
3 σάντων σφᾶς ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ εὐθὺς τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ[3] ἐν ᾗ[4] Λούκιός τε
Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὑπατεύειν ἤρ-
ξαντο, τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ ἀπεψηφίσατο,[5] φοβηθείς,

[1] ὁ inserted by Rk. [2] αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
[3] νουμηνίᾳ Bk., νουμηνίᾳ ἐπύθετο L. [4] ἐν ᾗ added by St.
[5] ἀπεψηφίσατο Leuncl., ἀπεψηφίσαντο L.

others than admonish themselves, and when it comes to their own case do very readily the things for which they think their neighbours deserving of punishment. Hence they cannot, from the mere fact that they accuse others, inspire confidence in their own hatred of the acts in question. Lucius Lucullus, on the other hand, after finishing his term of office as praetor urbanus, and being chosen by lot thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia, declined the province, detesting the business because of the many whose administration of affairs in foreign lands was anything but honest. That he was of a mild disposition he had given the fullest proof. For when Acilius once commanded that the chair on which he sat while hearing cases should be broken in pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by, had not risen, the praetor not only did not give way to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his colleagues on his account gave their decision standing. B.C. 67

Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did Gaius Manilius,[1] at the time when the latter was tribune. The former received some praise for his, which marked off sharply the seats of the knights in the theatres from the other locations; but Manilius came near having to stand trial. He had granted the class of freedmen the right to vote with those who had freed them; this he did on the very last day of the year toward evening, after suborning some of the populace. The senate learned of it immediately B.C. 66 on the following day, the first of the month, the day on which Lucius Tullus and Aemilius Lepidus entered upon their consulship, and it rejected his law.

[1] Dio uses the form Μάλλιος, the Greek for Manlius or Mallius.

ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος δεινῶς ἠγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα
ἔς τε τὸν Κράσσον καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς τὴν γνώμην
4 ἀνῆγεν, ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευέν οἱ, τὸν Πομπήιον
καὶ ἀπόντα[1] ἐκολάκευσεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν
Γαβίνιον πλεῖστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ᾔσθετο·
τόν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου
πόλεμον, τήν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἅμα
43 ἀρχὴν[2] αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ
καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διά τε
τἆλλα καὶ διότι ὅ τε Μάρκιος[3] καὶ ὁ Ἀκίλιος
πρὶν[4] τὸν χρόνον σφίσι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήκειν κατε-
2 λύοντο, ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος, καίτοι μικρὸν
ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταστήσοντας τὰ
ἑαλωκότα, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκὼς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ
Λούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὅμως ἐψηφίσατο
αὐτά, ἐναγόντων σφᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε
Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.
3 Οὗτοι[5] γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγωνίσαντο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
συμφέρειν αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει ἐνόμιζον, οὐδ' ὅτι τῷ
Πομπηίῳ χαρίσασθαι ἤθελον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ
ὣς γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, Καῖσαρ μὲν τόν τε ὄχλον
ἅμα ἐθεράπευσεν ἅτε καὶ ὁρῶν ὅσῳ[6] τῆς βουλῆς
4 ἐπικρατέστεροι ἦσαν, καὶ ἑαυτῷ τό τι τῶν ὁμοίων
ψηφισθῆναί ποτε παρεσκεύασε, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν
Πομπήιον καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον
ἐκ τῶν διδομένων οἱ ποιῆσαι, ὅπως σφίσι πρὸς
κόρου θᾶσσον γένηται, ἠθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τήν
τε πολιτείαν ἄγειν ἠξίου, καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ

[1] ἀπόντα Madvig, ἄκοντα L.
[2] ἀρχὴν R. Steph., ἄρχειν L.
[3] Μάρκιος R. Steph., μάρκος L.
[4] πρὶν R. Steph., ὡς πρὶν L.
[5] οὗτοι Bk., οὕτω L.
[6] ὅσῳ Bk., ὅσα L.

He, then, in fear because the plebs were terribly angry, at first ascribed the idea to Crassus and some others; but as no one believed him, he paid court to Pompey even in the latter's absence, especially because he knew that Gabinius had the greatest influence with him. He went so far as to offer him command of the war against Tigranes and that against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time. Now indignation and opposition were manifest even then on the part of the optimates, particularly because Marcius and Acilius were being removed before the period of their command had expired. But the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the proper officials to establish a government over the conquered territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. They were urged to this course very strongly by Caesar and Marcus Cicero. B.C. 66

These men supported the measure, not because they thought it advantageous to the state or because they wished to do Pompey a favour; but inasmuch as things were certain to turn out that way, Caesar not only courted the good-will of the multitude, observing how much stronger they were than the senate, but also at the same time paved the way for a similar vote to be passed some day in his own interest. Incidentally, also, he wished to render Pompey more envied and odious as a result of the honours conferred upon him, so that the people might get their fill of him more quickly. Cicero, on his part, was aspiring to leadership in the state, and was endeavouring to make it clear to both the

πλήθει καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὅτι, ὁποτέροις ἂν σφων
5 πρόσθηται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαυξήσει. ἐπημφο-
τέριζέ τε γὰρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἔστι δ' ὅτε
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ἵν'[1] ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζηται,
ἔπραττε.[2] τοὺς γοῦν βελτίους πρότερον προαιρεῖ-
σθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀγορανομῆσαι μᾶλ-
λον ἢ δημαρχῆσαι ἐθελήσας, τότε πρὸς τοὺς
44 συρφετώδεις μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δίκης τέ
τινος τῷ Μαλλίῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευα-
σθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνον τινὰ ἐμποιῆσαι αὐτῇ
σπουδάζοντος, τά τε ἄλλα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε,
καὶ μόλις αὐτόν (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμο-
νίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶχεν) ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν
ἀνεβάλετο, πρόφασιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τὸ ἔτος εἶναι ποιη-
2 σάμενος. κἀν τούτῳ δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὁμίλου
ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς
δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατά τε τῆς βουλῆς
κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορεύσειν τῷ Μαλλίῳ ὑπέ-
σχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τά τε ἄλλα κακῶς
ἤκουε καὶ αὐτόμολος ὠνομάζετο, τάραχος δέ τις
εὐθὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον συν-
αχθῆναι.

3 Πούπλιός τε γὰρ Παῖτος καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλ-
λας, ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ Σύλλου, ὕπατοί
τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἁλόντες ἐπεβούλευ-
σαν τοὺς κατηγορήσαντάς σφων Κότταν τε καὶ
Τορκουᾶτον Λουκίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ
4 ἀνθῃρέθησαν,[3] ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν
μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Πίσων καὶ Λούκιος
Κατιλίνας ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος (ᾐτήκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

[1] ἵν' R. Steph., ὃν L. [2] ἔπραττε R. Steph., πράττειν L.
[3] ἀνθῃρέθησαν Xyl., ἀνῃρέθησαν L.

plebs and the optimates that he was sure to make whichever side he should join preponderate. He was accustomed to play a double rôle and would espouse now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be courted by both. For example, a little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune; but now he went over to the side of the rabble. Soon after, when a suit was instituted by the optimates against Manilius and the latter was striving to gain some delay in the matter, Cicero tried in every way to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. Thereupon, when the crowd showed their displeasure, he entered their assembly, compelled to do so, as he claimed, by the tribunes, and after inveighing against the senate, promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was called "turn-coat;" but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened. B.C. 66

Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, a nephew of the great Sulla, who had been elected consuls and then convicted of bribery, had plotted to kill their accusers, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, especially after the latter had also been convicted. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and also Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity, who had sought the office himself

τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργὴν ἐποιεῖτο), οὐ μέν-
τοι καὶ ἠδυνήθησάν τι δρᾶσαι διὰ τὸ τήν τε
ἐπιβουλὴν προμηνυθῆναι καὶ φρουρὰν τῷ τε
Κόττᾳ καὶ τῷ Τορκουάτῳ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
5 δοθῆναι· . . . δόγμα τι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ
δήμαρχός τις ἠναντιώθη. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὖν καὶ ὣς ὁ
Πίσων ἐθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερουσία μή τι
συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν
ὡς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀρχήν τινα, ἔπεμψε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδική-
45 σας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη· Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
τον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τόν τε Μέτελλον
πλευσούμενος ἡτοιμάζετο, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα
προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἄχθεσθαι ὡς, καὶ πρότερον, καὶ
τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις ὡς καὶ πράγματα ἀεί ποτε
αὐτῷ, τοῦ [1] καὶ πταῖσαί τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκάλει,
2 ἀσμεναίτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν
καὶ [2] τἆλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἴ πού τι ἀδιοίκητον
κατελέλειπτο, παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ ἤγαγε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ
τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

Κἀν τούτῳ βουληθεὶς τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου
διανοίας πειρᾶσθαι, πέμπει τὸν Μητροφάνη
3 φιλίους [3] αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ ὃς τότε μὲν
ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο (τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου
τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ
χρόνῳ τούτῳ Φραάτην τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσε-
δόκησεν οἰκειώσεσθαι), ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν
φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
προσυνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν
τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος

[1] τοῦ Rk., τὸ L. [2] καὶ Rk., ἢ L.
[3] φιλίους St., φίλους L.

and was angry on this account. They were unable, however, to accomplish anything because the plot was revealed beforehand and a body-guard given to Cotta and Torquatus by the senate. Indeed, a decree [would have been] passed against them, had not one of the tribunes opposed it. And when Piso even then continued to display his audacity, the senate, fearing he would cause some riot, sent him at once to Spain, ostensibly to hold some command or other; there he met his death at the hands of the natives whom he had wronged. B.C. 66

Pompey was at first making ready to sail to Crete against Metellus, and when he learned of the decree that had been passed, pretended to be annoyed as before, and charged the members of the opposite faction with always loading tasks upon him so that he might meet with some reverse. In reality he received the news with the greatest joy, and no longer regarding as of any importance Crete or the other maritime points where things had been left unsettled, he made preparations for the war with the barbarians.

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes to him with friendly proposals. Now Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for as Arsaces, king of the Parthians, had recently died, he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey anticipated him by quickly establishing friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuading the latter to invade promptly the part of Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascer-

τοῦτο κατέδεισε, καὶ πρεσβευσάμενος εὐθὺς
4 σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσαντος δὲ[1] αὐτῷ τοῦ
Πομπηίου τά τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς
αὐτομόλους ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἔσχε καιρὸν βουλεύσασθαι· ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἵ τε αὐτόμολοι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθῶσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ ἄνευ ἐκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐθορύ-
5 βησαν.[2] κἂν ἐξειργάσαντό τι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ
μὴ ψευσάμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, μόλις αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν.

46 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ πολεμητέα οἱ ἔγνω εἶναι, τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς Οὐαλεριείους προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἤδη ὄντι ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀπαντήσας διαπεπολεμῆσθαί τε πάντα ἔφη καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι στρατείας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν
2 πεμφθέντας ἤδη παρεῖναι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείσθη
ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, πρὸς λοιδορίας ἐτράπετο, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπεῖπε μηδένα ἔτ' αὐτῷ πειθαρχῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἠπείχθη, σπουδὴν ἔχων ὅτι τάχιστά οἱ συμμῖξαι.

47 Καὶ ὃς τέως μὲν ἔφευγε (ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν ἠλαττοῦτο) καὶ τήν τε ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ ἔκειρε, καὶ ἐπλάνα τε αὐτὸν[3] ἅμα καὶ ἐπιδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διά

[1] δὲ Bk., τε LU^c. [2] ἐθορύβησαν v. Herw., ἐθορυβήθησαν LU^c.
[3] αὐτὸν Xyl., ἑαυτὸν L.

tained this, he was alarmed and straightway sent an embassy and tried to arrange a truce. But when Pompey demanded that he lay down his arms and deliver up the deserters, he had no opportunity to deliberate; for the large number of deserters who were in his camp, hearing of it and fearing they should be delivered up, and likewise the barbarians, fearing that they should be compelled to fight without them, raised an uproar. And they would have done some harm to the king, had he not by pretending that he had sent the envoys, not for a truce, but to spy out the Roman strength, with difficulty held them in check. B.C. 66

Pompey, therefore, having decided that he must needs fight, was busy with his various preparations; among other things he reënlisted the Valerians. When he was now in Galatia, Lucullus met him and declared the whole conflict over, claiming there was no further need of an expedition, and that for this reason, in fact, the men sent by the senate to arrange for the government of the districts had arrived. Failing to persuade him to retire, Lucullus turned to abuse, stigmatizing him as officious, greedy for war, greedy for office, and so on. Pompey, paying him but slight attention, forbade anybody longer to obey his commands and pressed on against Mithridates, being eager to join issue with him as quickly as possible.

The king for a time kept fleeing, since his forces were inferior; he continually devastated the country before him, gave Pompey a long chase, and at the same time made him feel the want of provisions. But when his adversary invaded Armenia, both for

τε τοῦτο καὶ ὡς ἐρήμην αὐτὴν αἱρήσων ἐνέβαλεν,
2 οὕτω δὴ δείσας μὴ προκαταληφθῇ ἦλθέ τε ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ λόφον ἀντικαταλαβὼν ὀχυρὸν τῷ μὲν παντὶ στρατῷ ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν ἐκτρυχώσειν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἅτε ἐν ὑπηκόῳ χώρᾳ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῶν εὐπόρει), τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων ἀεί τινας ἐς τὸ πεδίον ψιλὸν ὂν καταπέμπων τούς τε προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐκάκου, καὶ ἐξαυτομολοῦντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ
3 συχνοὺς ἐδέχετο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, μεταστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἑτέρωσε, ὅθεν ὑλώδους τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου ὄντος ἧττον ὑπό τε τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοξικοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων λυπηθήσεσθαι
4 ἔμελλεν, ἐλόχισεν ᾗ καιρὸς ἦν, καὶ ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων προσμίξας ἐτάραξέ τε αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπαγαγὼν ἐς ὃ ἐβούλετο[1] πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. θαρσήσας τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔπεμπεν.

48 Ὁ οὖν Μιθριδάτης, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτά τε ἀσφαλῶς ἐπορίζετο, καὶ τὴν Ἀναῖτιν[2] χώραν τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας οὖσαν καὶ θεῷ τινι ἐπωνύμῳ ἀνακειμένην
2 διά τινων ἐχειρώσατο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλινον, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιῶται προσεγένοντο, ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρας ἔλαθε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νυκτο-
3 πορῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου Ἀρμενίαν προῄει. καί οἱ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπηκολούθει μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν διὰ

[1] ἐβούλετο Reim., ἐβουλεύετο L.
[2] Ἀναῖτιν Fabr., μανάιτιν L (ταναΐτιδι ch. 53, 5).

this reason and because he expected to capture it while abandoned, Mithridates, fearing it would be occupied before his arrival, also entered that country. He seized a strong hill opposite the Romans and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust them by the failure of their provisions, while he could secure an abundance from many quarters, being among his own subjects. But he kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and attacking those who fell in with them, as a result of which he was receiving large numbers of deserters. Pompey did not dare to assail them in that position, but moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and where he would be troubled less by the foe's cavalry and archers, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with a few troops he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and luring them to the point he wished, killed a large number. Encouraged by this success, he also sent men out in various directions over the country after provisions. B.C. 66

When Pompey continued to procure these in safety and through certain men's help had become master of the land of Anaïtis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to a certain goddess of the same name, and many others as a result of this kept revolting to him, while the soldiers of Marcius were added to his force, Mithridates became frightened and no longer kept his position, but immediately set out unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed after him, eager to engage in battle; yet he

μάχης ἐλθεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῄεσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου) οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (τὴν γὰρ ἀγνωσίαν τῶν χωρίων ἐδεδίει) πρίν σφας πρὸς τῇ μεθορίᾳ γενέσθαι· τότε γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἠναγκάσθη νυκτομαχῆσαι.
4 γνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο προαπῆρε, μεσημβριάζοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθών, ᾗ πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον· καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινι χωρίῳ κοίλῳ μεταξὺ γηλόφων τινῶν ὄντι, ἐνταῦθα τό τε στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα
5 ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι μετά τε ἀδείας καὶ ἄνευ προφυλακῆς, ἅτε μήτε[1] ἔμπροσθε δεινόν τι πεπονθότες καὶ τότε ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη προχωροῦντες ὥστε μηδὲ ἐφέψεσθαί σφισιν ἔτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ἐς τὸ κοῖλον ἐσῆλθον, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότῳ· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἔλαμπεν.

49 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σαλπικταὶ πάντες ἅμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐβόησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἵ τε στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος πᾶς ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δόρατα πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς
2 τὰ χαλκᾶ σκεύη προσεπέκρουσαν. καί σφων τὴν ἠχὴν τὰ ὄρη ἔγκοιλα ὄντα καὶ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε φρικωδεστάτην, ὥστε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαπιναίως ἔν τε τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας δεινῶς ἐκπλαγῆναι ὡς καὶ
3 δαιμονίῳ τινὶ πάθει περιπεπτωκότας. κἂν τούτῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθοις τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίοις βάλλοντες πάντως γέ τινας

[1] μήτε Bk., μηδὲ L.

did not venture to do so either by day, for they would not come out of their camp, or by night, since he feared his ignorance of the country, until they got near the frontier. Then, knowing that they were about to escape, he was compelled to fight by night. Having decided on this course, he eluded the barbarians while they were taking their noonday rest, and went on ahead by the road along which they were to march. And coming upon a defile between some hills, he stationed his army there on the higher ground and awaited the enemy. When the latter had entered the defile confidently and without any precaution, in view of the fact that they had suffered no injury previously and now at last were gaining safety, insomuch that they even expected the Romans would no longer follow them, he fell upon them in the darkness; for there was no illumination from the sky, and they had no kind of light with them. B.C. 66

The course of the battle was as follows: First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, then the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, while some clashed their spears against their shields and others struck stones against the bronze implements. The mountains surrounding the valley took up and gave back the din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and in the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Meanwhile the Romans from the heights were hurling stones, arrows, and javelins upon them from every side, inevitably wounding some by reason of their num-

ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ σφας κατέστησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ' ἐς πορείαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ τοῖς τε ἵπποις καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκεύεσι[1] καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι,
4 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἁρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἁρμαμαξῶν ἀναμὶξ ὀχούμενοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδη τιτρωσκόμενοι, οἱ δὲ προσδεχόμενοι τρωθήσεσθαι, ἐταράσσοντο, κἀκ τούτου ῥᾷον, ἅτε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπελαζόμενοι, ἐφθεί-
5 ροντο. καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ἕως ἄπωθεν ἐβάλλοντο, ἔπασχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαναλώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόρρωθεν ἀλκὴν ἐπικατέδραμόν[2] σφισιν, ἐφονεύετο μὲν τὰ περιέσχατα (καὶ ἐξήρκει πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγὴ ἅτε καὶ ψιλοῖς οὖσι τοῖς πλείοσι), συνεπιέζετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπ' αὐτὰ[3] ὑπὸ τοῦ πέριξ δέους χω-
6 ρούντων. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι καὶ συμπατούμενοι διώλλυντο, οὐδ' εἶχον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὔτε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τολμῆσαι· ἱππῆς γὰρ καὶ τοξόται τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντες ἄποροι μὲν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προϊδέσθαι τι, ἄποροι δὲ ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαι ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ πάντως τινὰς[4]
7 ἀμυνούμενοι. κἂν ὠφελήθησάν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατόπιν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, πολλήν σφισι πλάνην, τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ προσπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐνεποίουν. πάμπολλοί

[1] σκεύεσι Naber, οὖσι L.
[2] ἐπικατέδραμον Leuncl., ἔπειτα κατέδραμον L.
[3] ἐπ' αὐτὰ Leuncl., ὑπ' αὐτὰ L. [4] τινὰς Bs., τινὰ L.

bers; and they reduced them to the direst extremity. B.C. 66 For the barbarians were not drawn up for battle, but for the march, and both men and women were moving about in the same place with horses and camels and all sorts of baggage; some were riding on chargers, others in chariots or in the covered waggons and carriages, in indiscriminate confusion; and as some were being wounded already and others were expecting to be wounded they were thrown into confusion, and in consequence the more easily slain, since they kept huddling together. This was what they endured while they were still being assailed from a distance. But when the Romans, after exhausting their long-distance missiles, charged down upon them, the outermost of the enemy were slaughtered, one blow sufficing for their death, since the majority were unarmed, and the centre was crushed together, as all by reason of the danger round about them moved thither. So they perished, pushed about and trampled upon by one another without being able to defend themselves or show any daring against the enemy. For they were horsemen and bowmen for the most part, and were unable to see before them in the darkness and unable to carry out any manœuvre in the narrow space. When the moon rose, the barbarians rejoiced, thinking that in the light they would certainly beat back some of the foe. And they would have been benefited somewhat, if the Romans had not had the moon behind them and as they assailed them, now on this side and now on that, caused much confusion both to the eyes and hands of the others. For the

τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινῇ πάντες
ἀποσκιάζοντες ἔσφαλλον αὐτούς, ἐν ᾧ γε[1] οὔπω[2]
8 προσέμισγόν σφισιν· ἐς γὰρ τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι,
ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ὄντων, μάτην ἔπαιον, καὶ
ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι
ἐτιτρώσκοντο. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πολλοὶ
καὶ ἑάλωσαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ διέ-
φυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης.

50 Καὶ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ἠπείγετο· ἐπεὶ
δὲ προπέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλιον εὕρετο,
ὅτι τοῦ υἱέος αὐτῷ Τιγράνου στασιάσαντος ἐκεῖνον
μὲν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὄντα αἴτιον τῆς διαφορᾶς ὑπε-
τόπησε γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸν
ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησε, διαμαρτὼν ὧν[3] ἤλπισεν
2 ἔς τε τὴν Κολχίδα ἀπετράπετο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πεζῇ
πρός τε τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βόσπορον,
τοὺς μὲν πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, ἀφίκετο,
καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν
παῖδα τὸν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθελόμενον καὶ
τότε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλήξας ὥστε μηδὲ
ἐς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνον διὰ τῶν συνόντων
οἱ, τήν τε ἄδειάν σφισι καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπι-
3 σχνούμενος, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο,
ὁ Πομπήιος ἔπεμψε μὲν[4] τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας[5]
αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφθη ὑπὲρ τὸν Φᾶσιν ἐκδράς,
πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐνενικήκει συνῴκισε,
τοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηλικεστέροις τῶν

[1] γε St., τε L. [2] οὔπω Rk., οὔτω L
[3] ὧν Reim., οὖν ὧν L. [4] μὲν added by Bk.
[5] ἐπιδιώξοντας H. Steph., ἐπιδιωξάντας L.

assailants, being very numerous, and all of them B.C. 66
together casting the deepest shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians, thinking them near, would strike vainly into the air, and when they did come to close quarters in the shadow, they would be wounded when not expecting it. Thus many of them were killed and no fewer taken captives. A considerable number also escaped, among them Mithridates.

The king then hastened toward Tigranes. But on sending couriers to him he found no friendship awaiting him, because the young Tigranes had risen against his father, and the latter suspected that Mithridates, the youth's grandfather, had really been responsible for the quarrel. For this reason, far from receiving him, Tigranes even arrested and threw into prison the men sent ahead by him. Failing, therefore, of the expected refuge, he turned aside into Colchis, and thence on foot reached Maeotis and the Bosporus, using persuasion with some and force with others. He also recovered that country, after so terrifying Machares, his son, who had espoused the cause of the Romans and was then ruling there, that he would not even come into his presence; and he likewise caused this son to be killed by his associates, to whom he promised to grant immunity and money. In the course of these events Pompey sent men to pursue him; but when he outstripped them by fleeing across the Phasis, the Roman leader colonized a city in the territory where he had been victorious, and gave it over to the wounded and superannuated soldiers.

στρατιωτῶν αὐτὴν δούς. καί σφισι καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἐθελονταὶ πολλοὶ[1] συνῴκησαν,[2] καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν, Νικοπολῖταί τε ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καππαδοκικὸν νομὸν συντελοῦντες.

51 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς παραλαβών τινας τῶν πρώτων, ἐπεὶ οὐ[3] καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων ἦρχε, πρός τε τὸν Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτὸν διὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι, ἐς τὴν
2 Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἦλθον μὲν μέχρι τῶν Ἀρταξάτων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσέβαλον· ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ὁ γέρων ἐς τὰ ὄρη φοβηθείς σφας ἀνέφυγεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι χρόνου τε τῇ προσεδρείᾳ δεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀντεπῆλθέ τε ἐνταῦθα ὁ
3 πατὴρ αὐτῷ μονωθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. φυγὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν πάππον ὥρμησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ἡττημένον καὶ βοηθείας μᾶλλον δεόμενον ἤ τινι ἐπικουρῆσαι δυνάμενον, προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσε.

52 Καὶ ὃς μαθὼν τοῦτο καὶ καταδείσας ἐπεκηρυκεύσατό τε εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδή τε, ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ υἱέος, οὐδενὸς μετρίου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ

[1] πολλοὶ Rk., πολλοὶ καὶ L.
[2] συνῴκησαν R. Steph., συνώικισαν L.
[3] οὐ added by Xyl.

Many also of the neighbouring people voluntarily joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans[1] and belonging to the province of Cappadocia. B.C. 66

While Pompey was thus engaged, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, fled to Phraates, taking with him some of the foremost men, because his father was not ruling to suit them; and though Phraates, in view of the treaty made with Pompey, hesitated about what he ought to do, he was persuaded to invade Armenia. So they came as far as Artaxata, subduing all the country before them, and even assailed that place too, for Tigranes the elder in fear of them had fled to the mountains. But when it appeared that time was required for the siege, Phraates left a part of the force with the young Tigranes and retired to his own land. Thereupon the father took the field against his son, who was now left alone, and conquered him. The latter, in his flight, set out at first to go to Mithridates, his grandfather; but when he learned that he had been defeated and was rather in need of aid than able to assist any one, he went over to the Romans. Pompey, employing him as a guide, made an expedition into Armenia against his father.

Tigranes, learning of this, and becoming alarmed, immediately made overtures to him and delivered up the envoys of Mithridates. And when, on account of the opposition of his son, he could gain no moderate

[1] Nicopolis = "City of Victory."

καὶ ὣς ὁ Πομπήιος τόν τε Ἀράξην διέβη καὶ
2 τοῖς Ἀρταξάτοις ἐπλησίασεν, οὕτω δὴ τήν τε
πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἐθελοντὴς ἧκεν, ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι μά-
λιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε
ταπεινότητος σκευάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσεώς τε καὶ
3 ἐλέου ἅμα ἄξιος αὐτῷ φανείη· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα
τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν ὁλοπόρφυρον
ἐξέδυ, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τό τε ἀνάδημα εἶχε.
Πομπήιος δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἵππου κατεβίβασεν
αὐτόν, ῥαβδοῦχόν τινα πέμψας (προσήλαυνε
γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον
ἔθος ἱππεύσων), ἐσελθόντα δὲ αὐτοποδίᾳ καὶ
τό τε διάδημα ἀπορρίψαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν
4 πεσόντα προσκυνοῦντά τε ἰδὼν ἠλέησε, καὶ ἀνα-
πηδήσας ἐξανέστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ ταινιώσας
τῷ ἀναδήματι ἔς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἕδραν ἐκάθισε
καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὴν
τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλεκὼς ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν προσειληφὼς εἴη. καὶ
ὁ μὲν τούτοις τε αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ
53 δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν· ὁ δὲ υἱός (ἐκάθητο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπηίου) οὔθ' ὑπανέστη τῷ
πατρὶ οὔτ' ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπήντησεν. ὅθεν ὑπό
γε[1] τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἐμισήθη.
2 Τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ διακούσας αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν
πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρῴαν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε·
τὰ γὰρ προσκτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἦν δὲ ἄλλα
τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἥ

[1] γε St., τε L.

terms, but even as it was Pompey had crossed the Araxes and drawn near to Artaxata, then at last Tigranes surrendered the city to him and came voluntarily into his camp. He had arrayed himself so far as possible in a manner midway between his former dignity and his present humbled state, in order that he might seem to him worthy both of respect and pity; for he had put off his tunic shot with white and the candys[1] of pure purple, but wore his tiara and head-band. Pompey, however, sent a lictor and made him dismount from his horse, since the king was riding up as if to enter the very fortification on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when he saw him enter on foot, cast aside his head-dress and prostrate himself on the ground to do him obeisance, he felt an impulse of pity; so springing up hastily, he raised him, bound on the head-band and seated him upon a chair close by, and spoke words of encouragement, telling him among other things that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia, but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner. But the son, who sat on the other side of Pompey, did not rise at the approach of his father nor greet him in any other way, and furthermore, though invited to dinner, did not present himself, whence he incurred Pompey's most cordial hatred. B.C. 66

Now on the following day, when Pompey had heard the claims of both, he restored to the elder all his hereditary domain; but what he had acquired later (chiefly portions of Cappadocia and Syria, as

[1] The outer garment of the Persians, provided with sleeves.

τε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφανηνὴ χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσορος οὐ σμικρά) παρείλετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτὸν ᾔτησεν· τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ[1]
3 τὴν Σωφανηνὴν μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἠμφεσβήτησέ τε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἁμαρτὼν (οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰ ὡμολογημένα κομίσηται) ἠγανάκτησε καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσατο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος προμαθὼν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
4 πάντα σφᾶς δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπειδή τε μήθ' ὑπήκουσαν, λέγοντες τὸν νεανίσκον, οὗπερ ἡ χώρα ἤδη ἐνομίζετο, χρῆναί σφισι τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἔπεμψεν[2] αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. καὶ ὁ μὲν κεκλειμένα αὐτὰ εὑρὼν προσῆλθέ τε ἐγγύς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἄκων αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθῆναι· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείθοντο, προϊσχόμενοι ὅτι μὴ ἑκούσιος ἀλλ' ἀναγκαστὸς τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐχαλέπηνεν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἔδησε τὸν Τιγράνην.

5 Καὶ οὕτως ὅ τε γέρων τοὺς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀναΐτιδι[3] καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κύρνῳ τριχῇ νείμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχείμασε, τά τε ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τιγράνου συχνὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλῷ πλείω τῶν
6 ὁμολογηθέντων λαβών. ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ[4] πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ φρουρᾶς ἐσήγαγεν.

[1] νεωτέρῳ Bk., υἱεῖ τῶι ἑτέρωι L.
[2] ἔπεμψεν Turn., ἔπεμψαν L.
[3] Ἀναΐτιδι Fabr., ταναΐτιδι L.
[4] οὐ added by Rk.

well as Phoenicia and the large district of Sophene bordering on Armenia) he took away, and demanded money of him besides. To the younger he assigned Sophene only. And inasmuch as this was where the treasures were, the young man began a dispute about them, and not gaining his point, since Pompey had no other source from which to obtain the sums agreed upon, he became angry and planned to escape. Pompey, being informed of this in season, kept the youth in honourable confinement and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, came near and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed no more than before, claiming that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey was vexed and put Tigranes in chains. B.C. 66

Thus the old king secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anaïtis and near the river Cyrnus, after making three divisions of his army. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. It was for this reason particularly that he shortly afterward enrolled the king among the friends and allies of the Roman people and brought his son to Rome under guard.

54 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διεχείμασεν. Ὀροίσης
γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἰκούντων
βασιλεύς, τὸ[1] μέν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ νεωτέρῳ
φίλῳ οἱ ὄντι χαρίσασθαι βουληθείς, τὸ δὲ δὴ
πλεῖστον δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσβάλωσι, καὶ νομίσας ὅτι, ἂν ἐν τῷ
χειμῶνι ἀδοκήτοις σφίσι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν στρατο-
πεδευομένοις προσπέσῃ, πάντως τι ἐξεργάσεται,
ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια,
2 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ' ᾧ ὁ
Τιγράνης ἦν, ἤλασεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομ-
πήιον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπὶ Λούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς
τριτημορίδος ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἅμα
3 ταραχθέντες μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ
μὴν καὶ διεπράξατο οὐδαμόθι οὐδέν· ἐκεῖνόν τε
γὰρ ὁ Κέλερ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ὁ
Φλάκκος ἐπειδὴ πολὺν τὸν περίβολον τῆς τα-
φρείας ὄντα ἀδύνατος ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους σῶσαι,
ἑτέραν ἔνδοθεν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐμβαλών, ἐπε-
4 σπάσατο αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῆς ἔξωθεν τάφρου, κἀν-
ταῦθα μὴ προσδεχομένοις σφίσιν ἐπεκδραμὼν
πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσί, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας
ἐφόνευσε. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Πομπήιος προμαθών τε
τὴν[2] πείρασιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἐπεποίηντο, προαπήντησε τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπι-
οῦσιν[3] ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ κρατήσας ἐπὶ τὸν
Ὀροίσην εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἠπείχθη. καὶ ἐκεῖνον
μὲν οὐ κατέλαβεν (ἀπωσθείς τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Κέλερος καὶ μαθὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα

[1] τὸ Xyl., τῶι L. [2] τε τὴν Bk., τήν τε L.
[3] ἐπιοῦσιν R. Steph., ἀπιοῦσιν L.

The quiet of his winter quarters, however, was not unbroken. Oroeses, king of the Albanians dwelling beyond the Cyrnus,[1] made an expedition against them just at the time of the Saturnalia. He was impelled partly by the desire to do a favour to Tigranes the younger, who was a friend of his, but chiefly by the fear that the Romans would invade Albania; and he cherished the idea that if he should fall upon them in the winter, when they were not expecting hostilities and were not encamped in one body, he would surely achieve some success. Oroeses himself marched against Metellus Celer, in whose charge Tigranes was, and sent some against Pompey and others against Lucius Flaccus, the commander of a third of the army, in order that all might be thrown into confusion at once, and so might not assist one another. And yet, in spite of all, he accomplished nothing at any point. Celer vigorously repulsed Oroeses. Flaccus, being unable to save the whole circuit of his entrenchments by reason of their size, constructed another line inside. This fixed in his opponents' minds the impression that he was afraid, and so he was able to entice them inside of the outer trench, where by making an unexpected charge upon them he slaughtered many in the conflict and many in flight. Meanwhile Pompey, having already learned of the attempt which the barbarians had made on the others, came, much to their surprise, to meet the detachment that was proceeding against him, conquered it, and at once hurried on just as he was against Oroeses. He did not overtake him, however, since Oroeses had fled after being repulsed by Celer and learning of the failures of the others; but he B.C. 66

[1] This river is called the Cyrus by other writers.

5 ἔφυγε), τῶν μέντοι Ἀλβανῶν συχνοὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβὼν ἔφθειρε. κἀκ τούτου δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀντεμβαλεῖν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμῶνα ἡδέως τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.

seized and destroyed many of the Albanians near the crossing of the Cyrnus. He then made a truce at their request; for although on other accounts he was extremely anxious to invade their country out of revenge, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter. B.C. 66

BOOK XXXVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Λ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας
Λ. Μάλλιος Λ. υἱ. Τορκουᾶτος ὑπ.

Λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. υἱ.[1] Καῖσαρ
Γ. Μάρκιος Γ. υἱ. Φίγουλος ὑπ.

Μ. Τούλλιος Μ. υἱ. Κικέρων
Γ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. ὑπ.

Δέκιμος Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός
Λ. Λικίννιος Λ. υἱ. Μουρήνας ὑπ.

Μ. Πούπιος[2] Μ. υἱ. Πίσων
Μ. Οὐαλέριος[3] Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Νιγρός[4] ὑπ.

Λ.[5] Ἀφράνιος Αὔλ. υἱ.
Κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υἱ. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὑπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορκουάτου τοῦ[6] Λουκίου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς

[1] Τορκουᾶτος Λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. υἱ. supplied by Palm.

[2] Πούπιος Palm., πούπλιος L.

BOOK XXXVII

The following is contained in the Thirty-seventh of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the following magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:—

B.C.
65 L. Aurelius M. F. Cotta, L. Manlius L. F. Torquatus.
64 L. Julius L. F. Caesar, C. Marcius C. F. Figulus.
63 M. Tullius M. F. Cicero, C. Antonius M. F.
62 D. Junius M. F. Silanus, L. Licinius L. F. Murena.
61 M. Pupius M. F. Piso, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Niger.
60 L. Afranius A. F., C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Celer.

THE year following these exploits, in the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, Pompey engaged in warfare with both the Albanians and the B.C. 65

[3] Οὐαλέριος R. Steph., γαλεριος L. [4] Νιγρός Palm., νιπρος L.
[5] Λ. added by H. Steph., space left in L.
[6] τοῦ added by Bk.

Ἴβηρσι. καὶ προτέροις γε τούτοις καὶ παρὰ
2 γνώμην ἠναγκάσθη συνενεχθῆναι· Ἀρτώκης γὰρ
ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν (νέμονται δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ
Κύρνου, τῇ μὲν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρ-
μενίοις πρόσοροι) φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν
τράπηται, πρέσβεις μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῷ
θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ ἐπίθηται.
3 προμαθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἔς τε τὴν
χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὶν ἱκανῶς τε αὐτὸν
ἑτοιμάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην
οὖσαν προκατασχεῖν, καὶ ἔφθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ὠνομασμένην προχωρήσας,
4 πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Ἀρτώκην ὅτι παρείη. ἦν
δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς στενοῖς, ἔνθεν μὲν[1] . . . τοῦ
Καυκάσου παρατείνοντος, οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ
τῶν ἐσβολῶν ὠχύρωτο. ὅ τε οὖν Ἀρτώκης
ἐκπλαγεὶς οὐδένα καιρὸν ὥστε συντάξασθαι
ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν γέφυραν
5 κατέπρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει πρός τε τὴν φυ-
γὴν[2] αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα καὶ μάχῃ νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν.
κρατήσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φρουράν
τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος
πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεστρέψατο.
2 Μέλλοντος δ' αὖ καὶ τὸν Κύρνον διαβήσεσθαι,
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρτώκης εἰρήνην τε αἰτῶν,
καὶ γέφυραν τά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἑκὼν οἱ παρέξειν
2 ὑπισχνούμενος. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἑκάτερον ὡς καὶ
συμβησόμενος, δείσας δέ, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν αὐτὸν
διαβεβηκότα, πρὸς τὸν Πέλωρον, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ

[1] Bk. supplied τοῦ Κύρνου παραρρέοντος, ἔνθεν δὲ, adopted in the translation.
[2] φυγὴν Leuncl., φυλακὴν L.

Iberians. Now it was with the Iberians that he was compelled to fight first and quite contrary to his purpose. They dwell on both sides of the Cyrnus, adjoining the Albanians on the one hand and the Armenians on the other; and Artoces, their king, fearing that Pompey would direct his course against him, too, sent envoys to him on a pretence of peace, but prepared to attack him at a time when he should be feeling secure and therefore be off his guard. Pompey, learning of this also in good season, invaded the territory of Artoces before the other had made sufficient preparations or had secured the pass on the frontier, which was well-nigh impregnable. In fact he had advanced as far as the city called Acropolis[1] before Artoces became aware that he was at hand. This fortress was right at the narrowest point, where [the Cyrnus flows on the one side and] the Caucasus extends [on the other], and had been built there in order to guard the pass. Thus Artoces, panic-stricken, had no chance to array his forces, but crossed the river, burning down the bridge; and those within the fortress, in view of his flight and also of a defeat they sustained in battle, surrendered. Pompey, after making himself master of the pass, left a garrison in charge of it, and advancing from that point, subjugated all the territory this side of the river. B.C. 65

But when he was on the point of crossing the Cyrnus also, Artoces sent to him requesting peace and promising to yield the bridge to him voluntarily and to furnish him with provisions. Both of these promises the king fulfilled as if he intended to come to terms, but becoming afraid when he saw his enemy already across, he fled away to the Pelorus,

[1] Armastica ("Citadel of Armaz") is meant.

ἐκεῖνον τῇ αὑτοῦ ῥέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν· ὃν γὰρ ἐξῆν
αὐτῷ κωλῦσαι διαβῆναι, τοῦτον ἐπισπασάμενος
3 ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπε-
δίωξέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐνίκησε· δρόμῳ
γάρ, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῇ σφετέρᾳ
τέχνῃ χρήσασθαι, ὁμόσε σφίσιν ἐχώρησε καὶ δι'
4 ἐλαχίστου αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψατο. γενομένου δὲ τού-
του Ἀρτώκης μὲν τόν τε Πέλωρον διαβὰς καὶ τὴν
γέφυραν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου καύσας ἔφυγε, τῶν δ'
ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν χερσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
5 πεζῇ περαιούμενοι ἀπέθανον· συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ
τὰς ὕλας σκεδασθέντες ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἀπὸ τῶν
δένδρων ὑπερυψήλων ὄντων ἀποτοξεύοντες διεγέ-
νοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν
δένδρων ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀρτώκης
ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὖθις τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ δῶρα
6 ἔπεμψεν· ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ ταῦτα μέν, ὅπως τὰς
σπονδὰς ποιήσεσθαι[1] ἐλπίσας μὴ περαιτέρω ποι
προχωρήσῃ, λαβόντος, τὴν δ' εἰρήνην οὐχ ὁμολο-
γήσαντος δώσειν ἂν μὴ τοὺς[2] παῖδάς οἱ ὁμήρους
7 προαποστείλῃ, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὗ οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβατόν πῃ τοῦ
θέρους γενόμενον οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἄλλως τε καὶ
μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, ἐπεραιώθησαν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ
τούς τε παῖδας αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
συνηλλάγη.

3 Κἀκ τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Πομπήιος οὐ πόρρω τὸν
Φᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίσας ἔς τε τὴν Κολχίδα παρ'
αὐτὸν καταβήσεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθρι-
δάτην ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι,[3] προῄει

[1] ποιήσεσθαι Turn., ποιήσασθαι LU^{c}. [2] τοὺς Rk., τούς τε LU^{c}.
[3] πορεύσεσθαι H. Steph., πορεύεσθαι L.

another river that flowed through his domain. Thus B.C. 65
he first drew on, and then ran away from, the enemy whom he might have hindered from crossing. Upon perceiving this Pompey pursued, overtook, and conquered him. By a charge he came to close quarters with the enemy's bowmen before they could show their skill, and very promptly routed them. Thereupon Artoces crossed the Pelorus and fled, burning the bridge over that stream too; of the rest some were killed in conflict, and some while fording the river. Many others scattered through the woods and survived for a few days, while they shot their arrows from the trees, which were exceedingly tall; but soon the trees were cut down under them and they also were slain. So Artoces again made overtures to Pompey, and sent gifts. These the other accepted, in order that the king in the hope of securing a truce might not proceed any farther; but he would not agree to grant peace till the petitioner should first send to him his children as hostages. Artoces, however, delayed for a time, until in the course of the summer the Pelorus became fordable in places, and the Romans crossed over without any difficulty, particularly since no one hindered them; then at last he sent his children to Pompey and concluded a treaty.

Pompey, learning now that the Phasis was not far distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to Bosporus against Mithridates. He advanced as he intended, traversing

2 μὲν ᾗ διενοεῖτο, καὶ τούς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς
προσχώρους σφίσι, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ
ἐκφοβῶν, διῆλθε· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι
ἥ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἠπείρου κομιδὴ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ
ἀγνώστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς
θαλάσσης χαλεπωτέρα διά τε τὸ ἀλίμενον τῆς
3 χώρας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν εἴη, τῷ
μὲν Μιθριδάτῃ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφορμεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
ὥστε ἐκεῖνόν τε τηρῆσαι[1] μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι
καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν[2] αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφε-
λέσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς οὐ τὴν
συντομωτάτην, ὅπως σφᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πρὸς
ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀνελπίστους καταλάβῃ, ἀλλ' ἐς
4 τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπανελθὼν ἐτράπετο. καὶ τόν τε
Κύρνον, ᾗ πορεύσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει,
πεζῇ διέβη, τήν τε ἵππον κατὰ τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ τὰ
σκευοφόρα ἑξῆς, εἶτα τοὺς πεζοὺς διιέναι κελεύσας,
ἵν' οἵ τε ἵπποι τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς σώμασί
σφων διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἴ πού τι
καὶ ὣς περιτραπείη, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα παρα-
κολουθοῦντας ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω κατα-
5 φέρηται· κἀντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσην πορευό-
μενος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν,
ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ
δίψους ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καίτοι
νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διελθών, ἐταλαιπώρησεν·
οἱ γὰρ ἀγωγοί σφων, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄντες,
6 οὐ τὴν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον. οὐ μὴν
οὐδ' ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν δέοντί σφισιν ἐγένετο· ψυχρό-

[1] τηρῆσαι Rk., τηρεῖσθαι L.; perhaps Rk. should be followed further in reading μὴ μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεύσαι.
[2] ἐπαγωγὴν Reim., ἀπαγωγὴν L.

the territory of the Colchians and their neighbours, B.C. 65
using persuasion in some quarters and fear in others. But, perceiving at this point that the route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to see that he did not sail away anywhere and to prevent his importing provisions, while he himself directed his course against the Albanians. He did not take the most direct route, but first turned back into Armenia, in order that by such a course, taken in connection with the truce, he might find them off their guard. He forded the Cyrnus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. His object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack-animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down. From there he marched to the Cambyses, without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy; but as a result of the heat and consequent thirst both he and the whole army suffered severely, notwithstanding the greater part of the march was covered at night. For their guides, who were from among the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, nor indeed was the river of any advantage to them; for the water, of

τατόν τε γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὄν, καὶ ἀθρόον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποθέν, συχνοῖς ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀντίπαλόν τι αὐτοῖς ὤφθη, πρὸς τὸν Ἄβαντα προσεχώρησαν, ὕδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερόμενοι· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα παρ' ἑκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάμβανον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκακούργουν οὐδέν.

4 Καί σφισι διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Ὀροίσης προσιὼν ἠγγέλθη. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος βουληθεὶς αὐτόν, πρὶν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος γνῶναι, ἐς[1] μάχην ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αἰσθό-
2 μενος αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσῃ, τούς τε ἱππέας προέταξε, προειπών σφισιν ἃ ποιήσουσι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὰ γόνατα κεκλιμένους καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχων ἀτρεμεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὸν Ὀροίσην μὴ πρότερον μαθεῖν
3 αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι. κἀκ τούτου ἐκεῖνός τε τῶν ἱππέων ὡς καὶ μόνων ὄντων καταφρονήσας συνέμιξέ σφισι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τραπέντας ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπεδίωξε· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξαίφνης καὶ διαστάντες τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις ἀσφαλῆ τὴν φυγὴν διὰ μέσου σφῶν παρέσχον, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερισκέπτως τῇ διώξει χρωμένους ἐσδεξάμενοι συχνοὺς ἐκυκλώ-
4 σαντο. καὶ οὗτοί τε τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκοπτον, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιά, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν περιελθόντες, κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἔξω τῆς κυκλώσεως προσέπεσον. καὶ ἐκεῖ τε πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ ἑτέρους[2] ἐς τὰς ὕλας καταφυγόντας

[1] ἐς Bs., πρὸς L.   [2] ἑτέρους Rk., ἑκατέρους L.

which they drank great quantities, was very cold and proved injurious to many. When no resistance was offered to them at this place either, they marched on to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; for they received everything else by the free gift of the natives, and for this reason they committed no depredations. B.C. 65

After they had already got across the river it was announced that Oroeses was coming up. Now Pompey was anxious to lead him into conflict before he should find out the number of the Romans, for fear that when he learned it he might retreat. Accordingly he marshalled his cavalry in front, giving them notice beforehand what they should do; and he kept the rest behind them in a kneeling position and covered with their shields, causing them to remain motionless, so that Oroeses should not ascertain their presence until he came to close quarters. Thereupon the barbarian, in contempt for the cavalry, whom he supposed to be alone, joined battle with them, and when after a little they purposely turned to flight, he pursued them at full speed. Then the foot-soldiers suddenly rose and by extending their front not only afforded their own men a safe means of escape through their ranks but also received within their lines the enemy, who were heedlessly bent on pursuit, and surrounded a number of them. So these troops cut down those caught inside the circle; and the cavalry, some of whom went around on the right and some on the other side of them, assailed from the rear those who were on the outside. Each force slaughtered many there, and burned to death others who had fled into the woods, crying out the while,

κατέπρησαν, "ἰὼ[1] Κρόνια[2]" πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσίν
σφων τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες.[3]
5 Πράξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τὴν χώραν
ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς τε Ἀλβανοῖς εἰρήνην ἔδωκε, καὶ
ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον μέχρι τῆς
Κασπίας θαλάσσης, ἐς ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ
ὄρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτᾷ, κατοικούντων ἐπικηρυ-
2 κευσαμένοις ἐσπείσατο. Φραάτης δὲ ἔπεμψε μὲν
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐθέλων·
ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν τε οὕτω φερόμενον ἑώρα, καὶ τῆς
Ἀρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ[4] ταύτῃ οἱ ὑποστρά-
τηγοι αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεστρέφοντο, ὅ τε
Γαβίνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τίγρι-
δος προεχώρησεν, ἐφοβήθη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν σύμ-
βασιν βεβαιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ
3 διεπράξατό τι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος πρός τε τὰ παρ-
όντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας κατεφρό-
νησεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν ἐλάλησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Κορ-
δουηνήν, ὑπὲρ ἧς πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην διεφέρετο,
4 ἀπῄτησεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι μηδέν, ἅτε μηδὲ
ἐπεσταλμένοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπεκρίναντο, ἔγραψε
μέν τινα τῷ Φραάτῃ, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε δὲ ἀντιπεμ-
φθῆναί τι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν χώραν τὸν Ἀφράνιον
παραχρῆμα ἔστειλε, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἀμαχεὶ
5 τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἔδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος διὰ τῆς
Μεσοποταμίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα
πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον κομιζόμενος ἐπλανήθη, καὶ
πολλὰ ὑπό τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνεως
τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακώθη· κἂν ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ

[1] ἰὼ Rk., ὦ L. [2] Κρόνια Cobet, Κρόνια Κρόνια L.
[3] ἐπιλέγοντες Xyl., ἐπιλέγοντας L. [4] τοῦ supplied by Reim.

"Aha, the Saturnalia!" with reference to the attack made on that occasion by the Albanians. B.C. 65

After accomplishing this and overrunning the country, Pompey granted peace to the Albanians, and on the arrival of heralds concluded a truce with some of the other tribes that dwell along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea, where the mountains, which begin at Pontus, come to an end. Phraates likewise sent to him, desiring to renew the treaty with him. For the sight of Pompey's success, and the fact that his lieutenants were also subjugating the rest of Armenia and that part of Pontus, and that Gabinius had even advanced across the Euphrates as far as the Tigris, filled him with fear of them, and he was anxious to have the truce confirmed. He accomplished nothing, however; for Pompey, in view of the present situation and the hopes which it inspired, held him in contempt and replied haughtily to the ambassadors, among other things demanding back the territory of Corduene,[1] concerning which Phraates was quarrelling with Tigranes. When the envoys made no answer, inasmuch as they had received no instructions on this point, he wrote a few words to Phraates, but instead of waiting for a reply sent Afranius into the territory at once, and having occupied it without a battle, gave it to Tigranes. Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, wandered from the way and encountered many hardships by reason of the winter and the lack of supplies. Indeed, his troops would have perished, had not the Carrhaeans,

[1] Called Gordyene by most writers.

Καρραῖοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἄποικοι ὄντες καὶ ἐνταῦθά που οἰκοῦντες, ὑπέλαβόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρέπεμψαν.

6 Ταῦτά τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης οἱ δυνάμεως ἔπραξε, σαφέστατα τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντα ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἤρτηται, καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς κρατῶν νομοθέτης ὧν βούλεται ἀναγκαῖος γίγνεται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ὕβρισεν, ᾗπερ πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἠγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὗτοί τε αὖ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀεί ποτε

2 ἐκέχρηντο. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων καλουμένου, τό τε τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα περιέκοψε καὶ βασιλεῖ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστέλλων ἔγραψε, καίτοι τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτὸς[1] δούς, ὅτε τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ

3 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ οὖν Φραάτης καίπερ δεδιώς τε αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεύων, ἠγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὡς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένος, καὶ πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε ὅσα ἠδίκητο ἐπεκάλει οἱ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ διαβαίνειν.

4 Ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἦρι ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευον· καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε.

[1] αὐτὸς Bs., αὐτοῖς L.

Macedonian colonists who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, received him and helped him forward. B.C. 65

This was the treatment which Pompey in the fulness of his power accorded to Phraates, thereby indicating very clearly to those desiring to indulge their greed that everything depends on armed force, and that he who is victorious by its aid wins inevitably the right to lay down whatever laws he pleases. Furthermore, he showed contempt for the title of Phraates, in which that ruler delighted before all the world and before the Romans themselves, and by which the latter had always addressed him. For whereas he was called "King of Kings," Pompey clipped off the phrase "of Kings" and addressed his demands merely "to the King" when writing; and yet he later, of his own accord and contrary to custom, gave this title to the captive Tigranes, when he celebrated his triumph over him in Rome. Phraates, consequently, although he feared and paid court to him, was vexed at this, feeling that he had actually been deprived of his kingdom; and he sent ambassadors, reproaching him with all the wrongs he had suffered, and forbidding him to cross the Euphrates.

When Pompey gave him no conciliatory reply, Phraates immediately began a campaign in the spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage.[1] This was in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus. In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious. And B.C. 64

[1] Dio here records as a fresh event what he has already described at length as one of the occurrences of the year 66 (Book XXXVI. 51). This was probably due to the use of a second authority; cf. Intr. to vol. i. p. xvi.

5 τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα
ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὖθις πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγόρησε,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπεσήμηνεν, ὥστε
τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ αἰσχυνθῆναι καὶ καταπλα-
7 γῆναι. οὔκουν οὔτε τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἐπεκούρησεν οὔτε
πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην πολέμιόν τι ἔτ' ἔπραξε, πρό-
φασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μήτε ἐκείνην οἱ τὴν στρα-
τείαν προστετάχθαι καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐν
ὅπλοις ἔτ' εἶναι. ἀρκεῖσθαί τε τοῖς κατειργα-
σμένοις ἔφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο . . . , μὴ πλει-
όνων ὀρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις, ὥσπερ που καὶ
2 ὁ Λούκουλλος, πταίσῃ. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει,
καὶ τό τε πλεονεκτεῖν δεινὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλο-
τρίων ἐφίεσθαι ἄδικον εἶναι τότε ἔλεγεν ὅτ' οὐκέτ'
αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ἐδύνατο. τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρ-
θου δυνάμεις δείσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν
πραγμάτων φοβηθείς, οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον καίτοι
πολλῶν ἐναγόντων ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα
3 τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐφαύλισεν, ἀντειπὼν μὲν οὐδέν,
φήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὁρίων τινῶν τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην εἶναι, περὶ ὧν δικάσειν σφίσιν
ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὓς καὶ ἔπεμψεν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς
ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνοι διαιτητὰς ἐπιγραψάμενοι πάντα
τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο, ὀργι-
ζόμενος μὲν ὁ Τιγράνης ὅτι τῆς ἐπικουρίας οὐκ
4 ἔτυχε, βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Φραάτης περιεῖναι τὸν
Ἀρμένιον, ὅπως καὶ συμμάχῳ ποτὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ
δεηθείη, κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ
εὖ ἠπίσταντο ἀμφότεροι ὅτι, ὁπότερος ἂν αὐτῶν
τοῦ ἑτέρου κρατήσῃ,[1] τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς

[1] κρατήσῃ Bs., κρατήσειε L.

when Tigranes invoked the assistance of Pompey, who was in Syria, Phraates again sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, bringing many charges against Tigranes, and making many insinuations against the Romans, so that Pompey was both ashamed and alarmed. As a result he lent no aid to Tigranes and no longer took any hostile measures against Phraates, offering the excuse that no such expedition had been assigned to him and that Mithridates was still in arms. He declared himself satisfied with what had been accomplished and did not wish [to undertake further risks], lest in striving for additional results he might impair the successes already won by some reverse, as Lucullus had done. Such was his philosophy, and he maintained that covetousness was a dangerous thing, and to aim at the possessions of others unjust,—now that he was no longer able to make use of them. For he feared the forces of the Parthian and dreaded the uncertain issue of events, and so did not undertake this war, although many urged him to do so. As for the barbarian's complaints, he made light of them, offering no answer, but asserting that the dispute which the prince had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, and that three men should decide the case for them. These he actually sent, and they were enrolled as *bonâ fide* arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled all their mutual complaints. For Tigranes was angry at not having obtained the desired aid, and Phraates wished the Armenian ruler to survive, so that in case of need he might some day have him as an ally against the Romans. For they both well understood that whichever of them should conquer the other would simply help along matters for the Romans B.C. 64

Ῥωμαίοις προκόψει[1] *καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτότερός*[2] *σφισι γενήσεται.*

5 *Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομπήιος δὲ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ*[3] *ἔτ' ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόριον τεῖχος Στρατονίκης οἱ προδούσης ἔλαβεν. αὕτη δὲ γυνή τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου οὖσα, καὶ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθη ἔχουσα, τούς τε φρουροὺς ἐς παρασκευὴν δὴ τροφῆς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ . . .*

Xiphilinus

7a *Ὑποστρέψας δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῷ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς βασιλείας βεβαιώσας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς δυναστείας ἐπαυξήσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κολούσας*[4] *καὶ ταπεινώσας, τήν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἄρτι τε*[5] *βασιλέων ἀπηλλαγμένας καὶ ὑπό τε τῶν Ἀραβίων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου κεκακωμένας συνεστήσατο. ἐτόλμησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπαιτῆσαι αὐτάς, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δέ, ἀλλ' ἔς τε ἀρχὴν μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους ἔλαβον ὥστε τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι.*—Xiphil. p. 6, 26—7, 5 Dind.

8 *. . . τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ ἐπῃνέθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαῖα καὶ τὰ Μεγαλήσια πολυτελέστατα ἐποίησεν, ἔτι δὲ*[6] *καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνας*

[1] *προκόψει* Rk., *προσκόψει* L.
[2] *εὐχειρωτότερός* Leuncl., *εὐχειρότερός* L.
[3] *τὰ* added by Bk.
[4] *κολούσας* Leuncl., *κωλύσας* VC.
[5] *τε* Dind., *γε* VC.
[6] *δὲ* Dind., *τε* L.

and would himself become easier for them to subdue. B.C. 65
For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

Pompey passed this winter likewise in Aspis,[1] winning over the districts that were still resisting, and taking also Symphorion,[2] a fort which Stratonice betrayed to him. She was the wife of Mithridates, and in her anger against him because she had been left there she sent out the garrison, ostensibly to collect supplies, and then let the Romans in, although her child was with . . .

Xiphilinus

Returning from Armenia [Pompey] arbitrated B.C. 64 disputes and managed other business for kings and potentates who came to him. He confirmed some in possession of their kingdoms, added to the principalities of others, and curtailed and humbled the excessive powers of a few. Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, which had lately rid themselves of their kings and had been ravaged by the Arabians and Tigranes, were united by him. Antiochus had dared to ask them back, but did not secure them; instead, they were combined into one province and received laws so that they were governed in the Roman fashion.

. . . [Not] for this alone did [Caesar] receive B.C. 65 praise during his aedileship, but also because he exhibited both the Ludi Romani and the Megalenses on the most expensive scale and furthermore arranged gladiatorial contests in his father's honour

[1] A place otherwise unknown; Fabricius suggested reading Anaïtis in place of Aspis. [2] Properly called Sinoria.

ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατα διέθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μᾶρκον Βί-
2 βουλον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ· τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις ὑπερῆρεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἅπαντα αὐτὸς ἀνηλωκέναι. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκει πεπονθὼς εἴη· τοῦ γάρ τοι ναοῦ κοινοῦ οἱ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνου μόνου ἡ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῦ γίγνεται.

9 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἔχαιρον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένον, εἰκών τέ τις λυκαίνης σύν τε
2 τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε, τά τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ἃς οἱ νόμοι ἐσεγράφοντο συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο.[1] τά τε οὖν ἄλλα ἐξεθύοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα μεῖζον, πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον, ὅπως αἱ συνωμοσίαι ὑφ' ὧν ἐταράττοντο ἐκφανεῖεν, ἱδρυθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

3 Ταῦτά τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοὺς[2] ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὔ) οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων
4 ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπεῖπον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει οὐδὲν[3] ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφᾶς τῶν

[1] ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. [2] αὐτοὺς H. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
[3] οὐδὲν supplied by R. Steph.

in the most magnificent manner. For, although the cost of these entertainments was in part shared jointly with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, and only in part borne by him individually, yet he so far excelled in the funeral contests as to gain for himself the credit for the others too, and was thought to have borne the whole cost himself. Even Bibulus accordingly joked about it, saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux; for, although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named after the latter only.[1] B.C. 64

Over these successes the Romans naturally rejoiced, but the portents that occurred thoroughly disquieted them. On the Capitol many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Jupiter, set upon a pillar; and a likeness of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, mounted on a pedestal, fell down; also the letters of the columns on which the laws were inscribed became blurred and indistinct. Accordingly, on the advice of the soothsayers they offered many expiatory sacrifices and voted that a larger statue of Jupiter should be set up, looking toward the east and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies by which they were disturbed might come to light.

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute about the people living beyond the Po, one believing it wise to admit them to citizenship, while the other did not; so they did not even perform any of their other duties, but resigned their office. And for the same reason their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, inasmuch as the tribunes hindered

[1] *Aedes Castoris* (or *Castorum*) was the usual name; yet in Suet. *Calig.* 22 we read *aede Castoris et Pollucis*.

δημάρχων πρὸς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς κατάλογον, δέει
5 τοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. κἀν τού-
τῳ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες, πλὴν τῶν
τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, ἐξέπεσον Γαΐου τινὸς
Παπίου δημάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἐπεπόλαζον καὶ
οὐκ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοί σφισιν εἶναι συνοικεῖν.

10 Τῷ δὲ[1] ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Φιγούλου καὶ τοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων, βραχέα μέν,
μνήμης δ' οὖν ἄξια πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων
2 πραγμάτων παραλόγους συνηνέχθη. ὅ τε γὰρ
τὸν Λουκρήτιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Σύλλου προστάξεως
ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἕτερός τις συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπικη-
ρυχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, καὶ κατηγορή-
θησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, τοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα παρα-
3 σκευάσαντος. οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ποτὲ δυνη-
θέντας ἀσθενεστάτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων πολλάκις ποιοῦσι. τοῦτό τε οὖν παρὰ
δόξαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ
Κατιλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις αἰτίαν (πολ-
λοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπεκτόνει) λαβὼν
ἀπελύθη. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου χείρων τε πολὺ
4 ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπώλετο· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ
Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαΐου Ἀντωνίου
ὑπατεύσαντος, ὅτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
διέφθειρεν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκεῖνος τήν τε πολιτείαν
νεωτερίζειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπ' αὐτῇ συν-
ιστὰς ἐς φόβον σφᾶς οὐ σμικροῦ πολέμου ἐν-
έβαλεν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε ἑκάτερον.

11 Ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὑπεῖκε ταῖς

[1] δὲ Turn., τε L.

them in regard to the senatorial list, fearing that they themselves might be expelled from that body. Meanwhile all those who were resident [aliens] in Rome, except inhabitants of what is now Italy, were banished on the motion of one Gaius Papius, a tribune, because they were coming to be too numerous and were not thought fit persons to dwell with the citizens. B.C. 65

In the following year, when Figulus and Lucius Caesar were in office, the events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man[1] who had slain Lucretius[2] at the instance of Sulla, and another[3] who had slain many of the persons proscribed by him, were tried for the murders and punished, Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus changing circumstances often render very weak even those once exceedingly powerful. This matter, then, turned out contrary to most people's expectation, as did also the case of Catiline, who, although charged with the same crimes as the others (for he, too, had killed many of the proscribed), was acquitted. And from this very circumstance he became far worse and even lost his life as a result. For, when Marcus Cicero had become consul with Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer caused any injury to the Romans, but had destroyed himself, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now these two events came about as follows. B.C. 64 B.C. 63

Mithridates did not give way himself under his

[1] L. Annius Bellienus. [2] Q. Lucretius Ofella. [3] L. Luscius.

συμφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ βουλήσει πλέον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων ἐνενόει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε, πρός τε τὸν Ἴστρον διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐλθεῖν, κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 ἐσβαλεῖν· φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὤν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν πταισμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ εὐτυχημάτων πεπειραμένος, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀτόλμητον οὔτε ἀνέλπιστόν οἱ εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλείη, συναπολέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μετὰ ἀκεραίου τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ στερηθεὶς αὐτῆς ἔν τε ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ ζῆν ἤθελεν.
3 αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔρρωτο· ὅσῳ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεμαραίνετο, τοσούτῳ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ῥώμῃ ἰσχυρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρρωστίαν τοῖς ταύτης λογισμοῖς ἀνα-
4 λαμβάνειν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ, ὡς τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀσθενέστερα ἀεὶ ἐγίγνετο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος δὴ τῶν πώποτε συνενεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων ἔφθειρεν), ἠλλοιοῦντο, καὶ τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ παῖδάς τινας αὐτοῦ συναρπάσαντές τινες πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκόμισαν.

12 Ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἐφώρα καὶ ἐκόλαζε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὀργῇ προκατελάμβανε, καὶ ἦν πρὸς οὐδένα ἔτι πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποτοπήσας τινὰ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα υἱός τις αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα φοβηθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν (καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἤδη ἦν) λήψεσθαι
2 προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ. φωραθεὶς δέ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λάθρᾳ πάντα τὰ

misfortunes, but relying more on his will than on his power, he planned, especially as Pompey was now tarrying in Syria, to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from there to invade Italy. For, inasmuch as he was by nature given to great projects and had met with many successes as well as many failures, he felt there was nothing which might not be ventured or hoped for. And if he was to fail, he preferred to perish along with his kingdom, with pride undiminished, rather than live deprived of it in humility and disgrace. On this idea, then, he himself grew strong; for in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even offset the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter. But his associates, on the other hand, became estranged, as the position of the Romans was ever growing more secure and that of Mithridates weaker. Among other things the greatest earthquake ever experienced destroyed many of their cities; the soldiery also mutinied, and some of Mithridates' sons were kidnapped and conveyed to Pompey. B.C. 63

Thereupon he detected and chastised some, while others he punished on mere suspicion, before they could accomplish anything; he no longer trusted anybody, but even put to death some of his remaining children who incurred his suspicion. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and the expectation of receiving the kingdom from the Romans, as he had now reached manhood, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly were concerning themselves with all that he was doing; and if the body-

πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολυπραγμόνουν) εὐθὺς ἄν, εἴπερ τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνοίας οἱ δορυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, ἐδικαιώθη· νῦν δὲ καίτοι σοφώτατος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ οὔτε τὰ ὅπλα οὔτε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄνευ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῳ τις ἂν πλείω, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχῃ, χαλε-
3 πώτερα αὐτῷ γίγνεται. ὁ γοῦν Φαρνάκης μετά τε τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων (ῥᾷστα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ᾠκειώσατο) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς τὸν πατέρα ἠπείχθη. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ γέρων (ἦν δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαίῳ) στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεψόμενός σφισι,
4 προέπεμψε. καὶ τούτους τε ἐκεῖνος διὰ βραχέος, ἅτε μηδ' αὐτοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο,[1] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑκουσίαν ἔλαβε, τόν τε πατέρα ἐς τὸ βασίλειον καταφυγόντα ἀπέκτεινεν.

13 Ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς λοιποὺς φαρμάκῳ προαπαλλάξας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξέπιεν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε[2] δι' ἐκείνου[3] οὔτε διὰ ξίφους αὐτο-
2 χειρίᾳ ἀποφθαρῆναι ἠδυνήθη. τό τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καίτοι θανάσιμον ὄν, οὐ συνεῖλεν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῇ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν προφυλακῇ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο· καὶ ἡ τοῦ ξίφους πληγὴ διά τε τὴν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπό τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀσθένειαν

[1] ἀπετρέψατο Pflugk, ἐπετρέψατο L. [2] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ L.
[3] δι' ἐκείνου R. Steph., δ' ἐκείνου L.

guard had had even the slightest good-will toward their aged sovereign, the son would have been punished immediately. But as it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to his royal office, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor a multitude of subjects is of any real strength to any one without their friendship; on the contrary, the more subjects a ruler has, the greater burden they are to him, unless he holds them faithful. At any rate, Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him,—for he won these over very easily,—hastened directly against his father himself. The old king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son intimating that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their purpose, inasmuch as they too did not love Mithridates, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, he put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace. B.C. 63

Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of

καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκου ὁποιουδηποτοῦν[1] *λῆψιν*
3 *ἀπημβλύνθη. ὡς οὖν οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο*
καὶ πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ χρονίζειν ἐδόκει, προσέπεσόν
τε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ
συνετάχυναν τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις τὸν
4 *ὄλεθρον.* Μιθριδάτης *μὲν δὴ ποικιλωτάτῃ ἀεὶ*
καὶ μεγίστῃ τῇ τύχῃ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευ-
τὴν τοῦ βίου ἁπλῆν ἔσχεν· ἐπεθύμησέ τε γὰρ
ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπο-
κτεῖναι σπουδάσας οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν
φαρμάκῳ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἅμα
14 *ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη·* Φαρνάκης
δὲ τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ *ταριχεύσας,*
ἔλεγχον τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν
τήν τε ἀρχὴν παρέδωκε. καὶ ὃς τῷ μὲν Μιθρι-
δάτῃ οὐδὲν ἐλυμήνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρῴοις
ἠρίοις ταφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τὸ γὰρ πολέμιον
αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ νομίζων οὐδὲν
2 *ἔτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὠργίζετο· τὴν μέντοι βασι-*
λείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου *μισθὸν τῷ* Φαρνάκῃ *τῆς*
μιαιφονίας ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς φίλους τούς
τε συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν.
3 *Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπωλώλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς*
αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων κατέστραπτο (τείχη
γάρ τινα φρουροὶ ἔξω τοῦ Βοσπόρου *ἔτι καὶ τότε*
ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐθὺς ὡμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἀνθίστασθαί οἱ διενοοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ
τὰ χρήματα, ἃ ἐφύλασσον, προδιαρπάσαντές
τινες ἐκείνοις τὴν αἰτίαν προσθῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἀνέμενον, αὐτῷ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπηίῳ *πάντα*
15 *ἐπιδεῖξαι), ὡς οὖν τά τε ἐνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ*

[1] *ὁποιουδηποτοῦν* R. Steph., *ὅποι δή ποτ' οὖν* L.

taking the poison, whatever it was. When, therefore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes. Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, but, on the contrary, commanded that he be buried among the tombs of his ancestors; for, feeling that his foe's enmity had been extinguished with his life, he now indulged in, no vain rage against his dead body. Nevertheless he granted the kingdom of Bosporus to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him as a friend and ally. B.C. 63

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominion except a few were subjugated. A few garrisons which at that time were still holding forts outside of Bosporus, did not immediately come to terms, not so much because they were minded to resist Pompey as because they were afraid that others might seize the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them; hence they waited, wishing to show everything to Pompey himself. When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates

ὁ Φραάτης ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἥ τε Συρία καὶ ἡ
Φοινίκη καθειστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀρέταν.
οὗτος δὲ Ἀραβίων μὲν τῶν νῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
δουλευόντων μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐβα-
σίλευε, πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ τὴν Συρίαν πρότερον λυ-
πήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχῃ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἀμυνόντων αὐτῇ νικηθείς, ὅμως καὶ τότε ἔτ'
2 ἐπολέμει. ἐπ' οὖν τοῦτον τούς τε πλησιοχώρους
αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλάσας ἀκονιτί τε αὐτοὺς
προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾷ παρέδωκε.

Κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην
ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας, ὥρμησεν.
ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος
ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἐτύγχανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφετέρου
θεοῦ, ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, ἱερωσύνης (οὕτω γὰρ
τὴν βασιλείαν σφῶν ὠνόμαζον) αὐτοί τε δια-
3 φερόμενοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασιάζοντες. ὁ οὖν
Πομπήιος Ὑρκανὸν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀξιόχρεων ἰσχὺν
ἔχοντα ἀμαχεὶ εὐθὺς προσέθετο, Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ
ἐς χωρίον τι κατακλείσας ὁμολογῆσαί οἱ ἠνάγκασε,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον
παρεδίδου, ἔδησεν αὐτόν. κἀκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους ῥᾷον προσεποιήσατο, τὰ δὲ Ἱεροσόλυμα
16 πολιορκῶν πράγματα ἔσχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην
πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ
φρονούντων, ἀπραγμόνως ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν
προκατασχόντων τῶν ἑτέρων οὐκ ἀπόνως εἷλεν·
2 ἐπί τε γὰρ μετεώρου ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὠχύ-
ρωτο. καὶ εἴ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὁμοίως
ἠμύνοντο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ ἐχειρώσατο· νῦν δὲ τὰς
τοῦ Κρόνου δὴ ὠνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ

remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia had become tranquil, Pompey turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now subjects of the Romans, as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it; he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued the war at that time. Pompey accordingly marched against him and his neighbours, and, overcoming them without effort, left them in charge of a garrison. B.C. 63

Thence he proceeded against Syria Palaestina, because its inhabitants had ravaged Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling themselves, as it chanced, and were creating factions in the cities on account of the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their god, whoever he is. Pompey immediately won over Hyrcanus without a battle, since the latter had no force worthy of note; and by shutting up Aristobulus in a certain place he compelled him to come to terms, and when he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison, he threw him into chains. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but had trouble in besieging Jerusalem. Most of the city, to be sure, he took without any trouble, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus; but the temple itself, which the other party had occupied, he captured only with difficulty. For it was on high ground and was fortified by a wall of its own, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what are called the days of Saturn, and by doing

οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καιρὸν ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τούτῳ τὸ
3 τεῖχος διασεῖσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτόησιν[1]
αὐτῶν ταύτην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν
σπουδῇ ἔπραττον, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
ὁπότε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐντονώτατά
4 οἱ προσέβαλλον. καὶ οὕτως ἑάλωσάν τε ἐν τῇ
τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ μηδ' ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ
χρήματα διηρπάσθη. ἥ τε βασιλεία τῷ Ὑρκανῷ
ἐδόθη, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνηνέχθη.
5 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐγένετο·
οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοι-
νίκης μέχρι τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν
τὴν ἔσω παρήκει, ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ κέκληται. ἔχουσι
δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα ἐπίκτητον· ἥ τε γὰρ χώρα
17 Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ὠνομάδαται· ἡ δὲ
ἐπίκλησις αὕτη ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἤρξατο
γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους
ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες,
ζηλοῦσι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ
γένος τοῦτο, κολουσθὲν μὲν[2] πολλάκις, αὐξηθὲν
δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς
2 νομίσεως ἐκνικῆσαι. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔς τε τἆλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν
δίαιταν πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ἕνα δέ τινα ἰσχυρῶς
σέβουσιν. οὐδ' ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν οὐδ'[3] ἐν αὐτοῖς
ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον, ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ
ἀειδῆ αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι περισσότατα ἀν-
3 θρώπων θρησκεύουσι. καὶ αὐτῷ νεών τε μέγιστον

[1] πτόησιν Madvig, ἐμποίησιν L. [2] μὲν supplied by R. Steph.
[3] οὐδ' added by v. Herw.

no work at all on those days afforded the Romans an B.C. 63
opportunity in this interval to batter down the wall. The latter, on learning of this superstitious awe of theirs, made no serious attempts the rest of the time, but on those days, when they came round in succession, assaulted most vigorously. Thus the defenders were captured on the day of Saturn, without making any defence, and all the wealth was plundered. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried away.

This was the course of events at that time in Palestine; for this is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea, and the people themselves Jews. I do not know how this title came to be given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among the Romans, and though often repressed has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances. They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life, and especially by the fact that they do not honour any of the usual gods, but show extreme reverence for one particular divinity. They never had any statue of him even in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be unnamable and invisible, they worship him in the most extravagant fashion on earth. They built to him a temple

καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀχανής τε
καὶ ἀνώροφος ἦν, ἐξεποίησαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου καλουμένην ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα
τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδιαίτατα πολλὰ[1] ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἔργου
οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου προσάπτονται.
4 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκεῖνον, τίς τε ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν
οὕτως ἐτιμήθη, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτόηνται,
πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ οὐδὲν τῇδε τῇ ἱστορίᾳ
18 προσήκει· τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἑπτὰ
τοὺς πλάνητας ὠνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖ-
σθαι κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ
ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ
εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον· οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες
2 οὐδαμῇ αὐτό, ὅσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἠπίσταντο. ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνυ νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ αὐ-
τοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, καὶ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτό
σφισι πάτριον τρόπον τινά ἐστι, βραχύ τι περὶ
αὐτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι βούλομαι, πῶς τε καὶ τίνα
τρόπον οὕτω τέτακται. ἤκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους,
ἄλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθῆναι, θεωρίας δέ[2]
3 τινος ἐχομένους. εἰ γάρ τις τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν
διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ἥπερ που καὶ τὸ κῦρος
τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειν πεπίστευται, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀστέρας τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσ-
μος διείληπται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ' ἣν ἕκαστος
αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγοι, καὶ ἀρξάμενος
ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω περιφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Κρόνῳ δεδομένης,
4 ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν δύο τὰς ἐχομένας τὸν τῆς τε-
τάρτης δεσπότην ὀνομάσειε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν[3] δύο
αὖ ἑτέρας ὑπερβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἀφίκοιτο, κἂν

[1] πολλὰ Rk., πολλὰ ἃ L. [2] δέ added by Xyl. from Xiph.
[3] αὐτὴν Bs., αὐτὸν L.

that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so B.C. 63 far as it was open and roofless,[1] and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation.

Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honoured, and how they got their superstitious awe of him, accounts have been given by many, and moreover these matters have naught to do with this history. The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all manknid, though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at any rate the ancient Greeks never understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is now quite the fashion with mankind generally and even with the Romans themselves, and is to them already in a way an ancestral tradition, I wish to write briefly of it, telling how and in what way it has been so arranged. I have heard two explanations, which are not difficult of comprehension, it is true, though they involve certain theories. For if you apply the so-called "principle of the tetrachord" (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, in the order in which each of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the lord of the fourth, and after this passing over two others reach the seventh, and you then go back and repeat the process with the

[1] This statement would seem to rest upon a confusion of the court (or courts) with the temple itself.

τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτάς τε ἐπανιὼν[1] καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους σφῶν θεοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπιλέγοι ταῖς ἡμέραις, εὑρήσει πάσας αὐτὰς μουσικῶς πως
19 τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. εἷς μὲν δὴ οὗτος λέγεται λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ ὅδε. τὰς ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῷ Κρόνῳ διδούς, τὴν δὲ ἔπειτα τῷ Διί, καὶ τρίτην Ἄρει, τετάρτην ἡλίῳ, πέμπτην Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἕκτην Ἑρμῇ, καὶ
2 ἑβδόμην σελήνῃ, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων καθ' ἣν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι αὐτὴν νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις ποιήσας, πάσας τε[2] οὕτω τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥρας περιελθών, εὑρήσεις τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὥραν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀφικνουμένην.
3 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ὡρῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγον πράξας, τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν πρώτην τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ὥραν ἀναθήσεις, κἂν οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πορεύῃ, τὸν προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ θεὸν ἑκάστη ἡμέρα λήψεται.

20 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδέδοται· Πομπήιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέπραξεν, πρός τε τὸν Πόντον αὖθις ἦλθε, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τήν τε Ἰταλίαν
2 ἐκομίσθη. πολλὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχας ἐνίκησε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν προσεπολεμώσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ προσ-

[1] αὐτάς τε ἐπανιὼν Leuncl., αὐτός τε ἔπαινον L (corrected to ἐπιὼν). [2] τε Bs., γὰρ L.

orbits and their presiding divinities in this same manner, assigning them to the several days, you will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens. This is one of the explanations given; the other is as follows. If you begin at the first hour to count the hours of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to the Moon, according to the order of the cycles which the Egyptians observe, and if you repeat the process, covering thus the whole twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the Sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours in the same manner as with the others, you will dedicate the first hour of the third day to the Moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive its appropriate god. This, then, is the tradition.[1] B.C. 63

Pompey, when he had accomplished what has been related, proceeded again to Pontus and after taking over the forts returned to Asia and thence to Greece and Italy. Thus he had won many battles, had brought into subjection many potentates and kings, some by war and some by treaty, he had

[1] The order of the planets assumed in both these explanations is determined by their relative distances from the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system, viz.: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The custom of naming the days may then have arisen, Dio says, (1) by regarding the gods as originally presiding over separate *days* assigned by the principle of the tetrachord, so that we get this order: the day of Saturn, of the Sun, of the Moon, of Mars, of Mercury, of Jupiter, of Venus; or (2) by regarding the gods as properly gods of the *hours*, which are assigned

εποιήσατο, πόλεις τε ὀκτὼ ἀπῴκισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνὰς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, τά τε πλείω ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἠπείρῳ τότε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ἰδίοις καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὥστε καὶ δεῦρο αὐτοὺς
3 τοῖς ὑπ'[1] ἐκείνου νομισθεῖσι χρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρόσθε Ῥωμαίων πραχθέντα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις οἱ ἀναθείη ἄν τις· ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔργον ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο
4 νῦν ἤδη φράσω. πλείστην μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ[2] ἔχων, πλεῖστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι συχνοῖς ᾠκειωμένος, τούς τε δήμους ὧν ἦρξε πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δι'
5 εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθείς τ' ἂν δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποιήσασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐθελοντὶ ἂν αὐτὸν[3] δεξαμένων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀσθενείας γε πάντως ἂν ὁμολογησάντων, οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τοῦτο
6 ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὸ[4] Βρεντέσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτεπάγγελτος, μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀφῆκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια αὐταῖς χρήσασθαι φροντίσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ[5] τά τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐν μίσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἠπίστατο ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε φόβον τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγας

[1] ὑπ' St., ἀπ' L.
[2] ἠπείρῳ R. Steph., ἤπειρον L.
[3] αὐτὸν H. St., αὐτῶν L.
[4] τὸ Bk., τε τὸ L.
[5] γὰρ inserted by Rk.

colonized eight cities, had opened up many lands and sources of revenue to the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and constitutions, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down. Yet, great as these achievements were and unrivalled by those of any earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to his good fortune and to his troops; but the act for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself—a deed forever worthy of admiration—I will now relate. He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast wealth from the captives; he had made numerous potentates and kings his friends; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits conferred; and although by these means he might have occupied Italy and gained for himself the whole Roman power, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted, they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium, he dismissed all his forces on his own initiative, without waiting for any vote to be passed in the matter by the senate or the people, and without concerning himself at all even about their use in the triumph. For since he understood that men held the careers of Marius and Sulla in abomination, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar B.C. 63

in order, beginning with Saturn, as in the list above, and allowing it to be understood that that god who is found by this system to preside over the first hour of each day shall also give his name to that day.

ἡμέρας, ὅτι τι[1] τῶν ὁμοίων πείσονται, παρασχεῖν.
21 οὔκουν οὐδ' ὄνομα οὐδέν, καίτοι πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κατειργασμένων λαβεῖν ἂν δυνηθείς, προσεκτήσατο.

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπινίκια, λέγω δὴ τὰ μείζω νομιζόμενα, καίπερ οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν ἔκ γε τῶν πάνυ πατρίων ἄνευ τῶν συννικησάντων τινὶ πεμφθῆναι,
2 ὅμως ψηφισθέντα ἐδέξατο. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἅπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἤγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλῶς κεκοσμημένα καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἓν μέγα, πολυτελῶς τε κεκοσμημένον καὶ γραφὴν ἔχον ὅτι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστίν.
3 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ Μάγνου, ἥνπερ που καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἔργων ἐκέκτητο, ἠρκέσθη. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν ὑπέρογκον λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ἢ τοῖς γε ψηφισθεῖσιν ἀπόντι οἱ πλὴν
4 ἅπαξ ἐχρήσατο. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα δαφνηφορεῖν[2] τε αὐτὸν κατὰ πάσας ἀεὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν μὲν ἀρχικὴν ἐν πάσαις αὐταῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶσιν ἐνδύνειν. ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ, συμπράσσοντος ἐς[3] τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, ἐδόθη.

22 Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅστις τε ἦν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τόν τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν[4] καθῄρει, δι' ὧν δὲ δὴ τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ χαριεῖσθαι καὶ

[1] τι inserted by Turn. [2] δαφνηφορεῖν Dind., δαφνοφορεῖν L.
[3] ἐς Rk., ἐς αὐτὰ L. [4] μὲν Rk., τε L.

experiences. Consequently he did not so much as assume any additional name from his exploits, although he might have taken many. B.C. 63

As for the triumph,—I refer to the one regarded as the great event,[1]—although according to strict precedent it was not lawful for it to be held without the presence of those who aided in winning the victory, he nevertheless accepted it when voted to him. He celebrated the triumph in honour of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully decked out to represent each of his achievements, even the smallest; and after them all came one huge one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted in the privilege of always wearing the laurel wreath at all public games, and arraying himself in the cloak of a general at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They had been granted him chiefly through the coöperation of Caesar, and contrary to the advice of Marcus Cato.

As regards the former, I have already stated[2] who he was, and how, while paying court to the populace, and while generally striving to destroy Pompey's power, he nevertheless made a friend of him in

[1] A singular expression, especially at this point, but due to the fact that Dio uses ἐπινίκια also for the ovation (in lix. 16, 11 and lix. 23, 2 τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα, "the lesser triumph"). [2] xxxvi. 43.

αὐτὸς ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλε προσεποιεῖτο, προείρηται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὗτος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἐζήλου, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον παιδείᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ
2 ἐκέχρητο. ἤσκει δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἐθαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ὑπερηγάπα, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους πεφυκὸς ὑποψίᾳ δυναστείας ἐμίσει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλέῳ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει.
3 καὶ δημεραστής[1] τε ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐγίγνετο,[2] καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα οὔτε πρὸς ἰσχὺν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τιμήν τινα, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε αὐτονόμου καὶ τῆς ἀτυραν-
4 νεύτου διαίτης ἔπραττε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις ὢν ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρῶτον παρῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφιζόμενα, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔχθραν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἦν, ἀντεῖπεν.

23 Ἀπόντι μὲν δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἔδοσαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ οὐδέν, πάντως ἂν που καὶ ἕτερα προσθέντες, εἴπερ ἠθελήκει· ἄλλοις γοῦν τισιν ἐν ἐλάττονι αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένοις πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα πολλάκις ἔνειμαν. καὶ ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄκοντες
2 ἔπραξαν, δῆλόν ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἰσχύουσί τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τήν τε ὑπόνοιαν, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐθελούσιοί τι ψηφίσωνται, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων παρασκευῆς διδόμενα ἔχει, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς

[1] δημεραστὴς Naber, δήμου ἐραστὴς L.
[2] ἐγίγνετο R. Steph., ἐγένετο L.

cases where he would thereby please the populace B.C. 63 and gain strength himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He diligently promoted the interests of the plebs, and admired no one man, but was thoroughly devoted to the common weal. Suspicious of unlimited power, he hated any one who had grown above his fellows, but loved any one of the common people through pity for his weakness. He was becoming the friend of the people such as no one else, and indulged in outspokenness in behalf of the right, even when it involved danger. Yet he did all this not with a view to power or glory or any honour, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictation of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they were contrary to precedent.

These honours, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it. At any rate they had often bestowed many extravagant distinctions upon other men who had possessed less authority than he, but it is clear that they had done so unwillingly. Now Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the multitude to the powerful who are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of being forcibly granted at the instigation of the strong; and that they bring no glory to those who receive them, because

λαβοῦσιν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ μὴ παρ' ἑκόντων ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθέντων, μηδ' ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ κολακείας ὑπάρξαντά σφισι φέρει, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν
3 ἀρχὴν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἐσηγήσασθαι. καὶ πολύ γε τοῦτο βέλτιον εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἢ ψηφισθέντα μὴ προσίεσθαι· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μῖσός τε ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ὑφ' ἧς ἐγιγνώσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὕβριν τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων δῆθεν ἢ πάντως γε τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνεῖναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὸ δημοτικὸν ὄντως καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον, οὐκ ἀπ' ἐνδείξεως ἀλλ'
4 ἐξ ἀληθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γάρ τοι ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ὀλίγου πάσας λαβών, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν μήτε ὠφελῶν τινα μήτε ὠφελούμενος φθόνον ἄλλως καὶ μῖσος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων αὐτὰ σχήσειν ἔμελλεν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο.

24 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον ἔσχον, ὥστε καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας ὠνομασμένον διὰ πάνυ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστί, πύστιν τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγίειαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν[1] οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι.
2 καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ' ἔτος ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ[2] μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῄει μήτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετό τισι[3] μήτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι κινδύνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις, οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· ἄλλως τε γὰρ παγχά-

[1] ὂν inserted by St. [2] ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ Rk., ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ L.
[3] τισι Rk., τις L.

it is believed that they have been obtained, not from willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure whatever. This course he declared to be far better than to reject what has once been voted you: the one course arouses hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and argues arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted you by those who think themselves your superiors or at any rate your equals; whereas by the other course you are truly democratic both in name and in fact, not merely by way of display, but in very truth. Thus Pompey, after having received practically all the offices and positions of command contrary to precedent, was now unwilling to accept any other such honours that were liable to bring him merely envy and hatred, even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or to be benefited. B.C. 63

All this took place in the course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called *augurium salutis* after a very long interval. This is a kind of augury, which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people, as if it were unholy even to ask for it until permission is granted. It was observed on that day of each year on which no army was going out to war, or was preparing itself against any foes, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils, especially those of civil strife, it was not observed. For it was very difficult

λεπόν σφισιν ἦν καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀτο-
πώτατον, κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἑκουσίους
ἀμύθητα ἀλλήλοις παρέχοντας, καὶ μέλλοντας,
ἄν τε ἡττηθῶσιν ἄν τε καὶ νικήσωσι, κακοῦσθαι,
ἔπειτα σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ θείου προσαιτεῖν.
25 ἀμέλει καὶ τότε ἠδυνήθη μέν πως τὸ οἰώνισμα
ἐκεῖνο ποιηθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένετο.
ἔξεδροι γάρ τινες ὄρνιθες ἐπέπταντο, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτ᾽ ἀνεμαντεύσαντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε[1] αὐτοῖς
2 σημεῖα οὐκ αἴσια συνηνέχθη· κεραυνοί τε γὰρ
ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς
ἐσείσθη, εἴδωλά τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντά-
σθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ
τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον, ὥστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ
ἰδιώτην τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν προγνῶναι.
3 οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν ὕπατον ὁμοιο-
τροπώτατόν σφισιν ὄντα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μέν
τις τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων
πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἦγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε Παίτῳ τῷ
Πουπλίῳ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ μετ᾽
αὐτοῦ ἁλόντι τό τε βουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
4 ἐξεῖναι ἐδίδου. ἄλλος χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, ἄλλος
κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ
γενέσθαι ἐσηγεῖτο.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρός τε τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ
πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ προ-
καταληφθέντα, πρὶν ἔργον τι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν συμβῆ-
26 ναι, ἐπαύθη· Τίτος δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος Γάιον Ῥαβί-
ριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνῳ γραψάμενος
πλεῖστόν σφισι τάραχον παρέσχεν. ὅ τε γὰρ

[1] ἄλλα τε Dind., ἄλλα δὲ L.

for them in any case to determine accurately upon a day free from all such disturbances, and furthermore it would be most absurd, when they were voluntarily causing one another unspeakable woes through party strife and were destined to suffer ills whether they were defeated or victorious, that they should still ask Heaven for safety. Nevertheless, it was in some some way possible at that time for the divination to be held; but it did not prove to be regular, since some birds flew up from an unlucky quarter, and so it was repeated. Other unlucky omens, too, occurred. Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were visible in many places, and in the west flashes of fire darted up into heaven, so that any one, even a layman, was bound to know in advance what was signified by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius, the consul, who was very much like themselves in character, and one of them supported for office the sons of those exiled by Sulla, while a second wished to grant to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla, who had been convicted with him, the right to be members of the senate and to hold office; another made a motion for a cancelling of debts, and yet another for allotments of land to be made both in Italy and in the subject territory. B.C. 63

These motions were taken in hand betimes by Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he, and were suppressed before any action resulted from them. Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused the greatest disorder. Saturninus had been killed some

Σατουρνῖνος πρὸ ἓξ που καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὕπατοι τότε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς προσετετάχατο, ὥστε ἡ γερουσία ἄκυρος ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεί-
2 νου τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. κἀκ τούτου πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἐταράττετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥαβίριος οὐδ' ὡμολόγει τὸν φόνον, ἀλλ' ἄπαρνος ἦν· οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τήν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς βουλῆς καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιντο
3 ποιεῖν προπαρεσκεύαζον· διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ[1] τά τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν πραχθέντα εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τέ τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιχειροῦσι ἄδεια ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι αὐτῶν ἐκολούοντο. ἡ οὖν γερουσία δεινὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἄνδρα[2] βουλευτὴν μήτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι καὶ ἐς γῆρας ἤδη προεληλυθότα ἀπολεῖσθαι, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτει ὅτι τό τε πρόσχημα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα
27 τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις ἐπετρέπετο. σπουδαί τε οὖν ταραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεικίαι ἀφ' ἑκατέρων περί τε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ, τῶν δὲ ἵνα καθιζήσῃ δικαιούντων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διά τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δι' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνίκησε, περί γε[3] τῆς κρίσεως αὖθις συνέβησαν.
2 καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου δικάζων (οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περδουελλίωνος ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐκρίθη), κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-

[1] τοῦ Leuncl., τούτου L. [2] ἄνδρα Bk., καὶ ἄνδρα L.
[3] γε Bk., τε L.

thirty-six years earlier, and the fight waged against B.C. 63
him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate. Hence, as a result of the proposed trial, the senate would lose the authority to enforce its decrees. In consequence the whole order of the state was being disturbed; for Rabirius did not even admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes, however, were eager to overthrow completely the power and the dignity of the senate and were first preparing for themselves authority to do whatever they pleased. For the investigation of acts which had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who might attempt to imitate Saturninus' conduct, and to render ineffective the punishments for such deeds. Now the senate thought it outrageous in any case that a man of senatorial rank, guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years, should perish, and was all the more enraged because the dignity of the state was being attacked and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men. Hence there arose turbulent factions and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was another clash regarding the character of the trial. Caesar himself was judge together with Lucius Caesar, for the charge against Rabirius was no ordinary one, but that of *perduellio*, as it was called; and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the praetor himself, which was not

3 γοῦ οὐκ ἐξὸν αἱρεθέντες. καὶ ἐφῆκε μὲν ὁ Ῥαβί-
ριος, πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἑάλω,
εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστής τε ὢν
καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνεπόδισεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε
ἄλλως ἐπείθοντό οἱ, οὔθ' ὅτι παρὰ τὰ νενο-
μισμένα ἡ κρίσις ἐγεγόνει ἐνεθυμοῦντο, ἀνέδραμεν
ἐς τὸ Ἰανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν σφας ψηφί-
σασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέ-
σπασεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι διαγνῶναι.
28 Τοῦτο δέ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιόνδε τί ἐστι.
πολλῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμίων τῇ πόλει προσοι-
κούντων, φοβούμενοι μή ποτε ἐκκλησιαζόντων
σφῶν κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἐπίθωνταί τινες τῇ πόλει
τὸ Ἰανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν μὴ πάντες
ἅμα ψηφίζεσθαι, ἀλλά τινας ἀεὶ ἐνόπλους τὸ
2 χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐκ διαδοχῆς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτό,
ἕως μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἦν, ἐφρούρουν, ὁπότε δὲ
διαλυθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, τό τε σημεῖον καθῃρεῖτο
καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπηλλάσσοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν μὴ
φρουρουμένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἔτι χρη-
3 ματισθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς
λόχους ἀθροιζομέναις ἐκκλησίαις ἐγίγνετο, ὅτι
τε ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ ὅπλα
ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην εἶχον ἐς αὐτὰς συνιέναι· καὶ ἔτι[1]
καὶ νῦν ὁσίας ἕνεκα ποιεῖται.
4 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἥ τε ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθέντος
τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐσώθη· ἐξῆν
μὲν γὰρ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ καὶ αὖθις δικάσασθαι, οὐ
29 μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτό· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κατιλίνας ὧδέ
τε καὶ διὰ τάδε ἀπώλετο.
Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, τήν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τότε

[1] ἔτι Bk., ἔτι τε L.

lawful. Rabirius appealed, and would certainly have been convicted by the people also, had not Metellus Celer, who was an augur and praetor, prevented it. When nothing else would cause them to heed him and they were unconcerned by the fact that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to the Janiculum before they took any vote at all, and pulled down the military flag, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision. B.C. 63

Now this matter of the flag is as follows. In ancient times there were many enemies dwelling near the city, and the Romans, fearing that while they were holding a centuriate assembly by centuries foes might occupy the Janiculum and attack the city, decided that not all should vote at once, but that some men under arms should by turns always guard that position. So they guarded it as long as the assembly lasted, but when this was about to be adjourned, the flag was pulled down and the guards departed; for no further business could be transacted when the post was not guarded. This practice was observed only in the case of the centuriate assemblies, for these were held outside the wall and all who bore arms were obliged to attend them. Even to this day it is done as a matter of form.

So on that occasion, when the signal was pulled down, the assembly was adjourned and Rabirius was saved. Labienus, indeed, had the right to bring suit again, but he did not do so.

As for Catiline, his ruin was brought about in the manner and for the reasons which I shall now narrate. When he was again seeking the consulship at this

αἰτήσαντος αὐτοῦ[1] καὶ πᾶν ὁτιδήποτε ἐνεδέχετο ὅπως ἀποδειχθῇ μηχανωμένου, δέκα ἐτῶν φυγήν, τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκασμῷ τεταγμένοις προσ-
2 νομοθετῆσαι. τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνος δι' ἑαυτόν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν, ἐγνῶσθαι νομίσας ἐπεχείρησε μέν, χεῖρά τινα παρασκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρώτων ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις, ἵν' ὕπατος εὐθὺς χειροτονηθῇ,
3 φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ. ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων προμαθὼν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸ καὶ κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιήσατο· ἐπειδή τε οὐκ ἔπεισέ σφας ψηφίσασθαί τι ὧν ἠξίου (οὔτε γὰρ πιθανὰ ἐξηγγελκέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχθραν καταψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπωπτεύθη), ἐφοβήθη ἅτε καὶ προσπαρωξυγκὼς
4 τὸν Κατιλίναν, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἁπλῶς ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθεῖν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἐπιτηδείους συνεπηγάγετο παρεσκευασμένους ἀμῦναί οἱ εἴ τι δεινὸν γένοιτο,[2] καὶ θώρακα, τῆς τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων διαβολῆς ἕνεκα, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, παραφαίνων δ' αὐτὸν
5 ἐξεπίτηδες, ἐνεδύσατο. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως φήμη τις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύεται, ὅ τε δῆμος δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ οἱ συνομωμοκότες τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ φοβηθέντες αὐτὸν ἡσύχασαν.

30 Καὶ οὕτως ὕπατοί τε ἕτεροι ᾑρέθησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτι λάθρᾳ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ
2 κοινὸν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν συνίστη. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς

[1] αὐτοῦ supplied by Bs. [2] γένοιτο Bk., γίγνοιτο L.

time and contriving in every way possible to be elected, the senate decreed, chiefly at the instance of Cicero, that banishment for ten years should be added by law to the penalties established for bribery. Catiline, accordingly, believed that this decree had been passed on his account, as was indeed the case; and so, after collecting a small band, he attempted to slay Cicero and some others of the foremost men on the very day of the election, in order that he might immediately be chosen consul. But he was unable to carry out his plot; for Cicero learned of it in season, and informed the senate of it, delivering a severe arraignment of Catiline. Being unsuccessful, however, in persuading them to vote any of the measures he asked, since his announcement was not regarded as credible and he was suspected of having uttered false charges against the men because of personal enmity, Cicero became frightened, now that he had given Catiline additional provocation. He did not venture to enter the assembly alone, as had been his custom, but took his friends along prepared to defend him if any danger threatened; and partly for his own safety and partly to arouse prejudice against his foes, he wore beneath his clothing a breastplate, which he was careful to allow people to see. For this reason and because in other ways, too, some report had spread of a plot against him, the people became very indignant and the fellow-conspirators of Catiline in their fear of Cicero kept quiet. B.C. 63

In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself

Ῥώμης αὐτῆς τούς τε κακίστους καὶ καινῶν ἀεί
ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, κἀκ τῶν συμμάχων
ὡς ὅτι πλείστους, χρεῶν τε[1] ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆς
ἀναδασμούς, ἄλλα τε ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα δελεάσειν αὐ-
3 τούς ἤμελλεν, ὑπισχνούμενός σφισι συνῆγε. καὶ
τούς γε πρώτους αὐτῶν καὶ[2] δυνατωτάτους (ἦσαν
δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὕπατος) καὶ ἐς ἀθεμίτων
ὁρκωμοσιῶν ἀνάγκην προήγαγε·[3] παῖδα γάρ τινα
καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ
ὅρκια ποιήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐσπλάγχνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ
4 τῶν ἄλλων. συνέπραττον δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα
τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὅ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος
ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας
ἐκπεσών (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ ὅπως τὴν βουλείαν
ἀναλάβῃ), τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Φαισούλαις, ἐς[4] ἃς οἱ
5 στασιῶται αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γάιός τις Μάλλιος,
τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρότατος (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν
τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτο[5]) καὶ πολυδα-
πανώτατος ὤν· σύμπαντα γοῦν ὅσα τότε ἐκτή-
σατο, καίπερ πάμπολλα ὄντα, κακῶς καταναλώσας
ἑτέρων ἔργων ὁμοίων ἐπεθύμει.

31 Παρασκευαζομένων οὖν ταῦτα αὐτῶν, μηνύεται
τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει γιγνό-
μενα διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ἃ τὸν μὲν γράψαντα
οὐκ ἐδήλου, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ
τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη,
ταραχήν τε εἶναι καὶ ζήτησιν τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῆς
2 γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος, καὶ
προσεψηφίσαντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

[1] τε Xyl., τε καὶ L.
[2] καὶ added by Xyl.
[3] προήγαγε Rk., προσήγαγεν L.
[4] ἐς R. Steph., αἷς L.
[5] ἐστράτευτο Turn., ἐστρατεύετο L.

the lowest characters and such as were always eager for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them the cancelling of debts, distribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to tempt them. Upon the foremost and most powerful of them, including Antonius the consul, he imposed the obligation of taking a monstrous oath. For he sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others. Those who coöperated with him most closely were: in Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate and was now serving as praetor, in order to gain senatorial rank again; at Faesulae, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Manlius, who was well-versed in warfare, having served among Sulla's centurions, and also the greatest possible spendthrift. Certain it was that he had run through all that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, by his evil practices, and was now eager for other similar exploits. B.C. 63

While they were making these preparations information came to Cicero, first, of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and certain others of the optimates; and upon their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they further voted to the consuls the custody of the

τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὅλων αὐτῆς πραγμάτων, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι προσεγράφη τὸ διὰ φροντίδος αὐτοὺς σχεῖν ὥστε
3 μηδεμίαν ἀποτριβὴν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμβῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φρουρᾶς πολλαχόθι καταστάσης τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οὐκέτ' ἐνεωτερίσθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ τὸν Κικέρωνα διαβληθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τήν τε αἰτίαν ἐπιστώσατο καὶ βίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφὴν τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ παρεσκεύασε.

32 Καὶ ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ αὐτὴν ἑτοίμως, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ χρηστοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, ἐδέξατο, καὶ πρός τε τὴν δίκην δῆθεν ἡτοιμάζετο, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι αὐτῷ τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ φύγῃ που,
2 παρεδίδου. μὴ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν δίαιταν ἑκούσιος ἐποιεῖτο, ἵν' ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποπτευθῇ νεωτερίζειν τι, μέχρις ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
3 αὐτόθε συνωμοτῶν ἰσχυρόν τι προσλάβῃ. ὡς δ' οὐδέν οἱ προεχώρει (ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς ὑπεστέλλετο καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος ἥκιστα δραστήριος ἦν), προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συλλεγῆναι, καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Μέτελλον ἦλθέ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπετίμησέ σφισιν ἐπί τε τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ
4 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαλακίᾳ. κἀκ τούτου διεξελθὼν ὅσα τε πείσοιντο φωραθέντες καὶ ὅσων τεύξοιντο κατορθώσαντες, οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπέρρωσε καὶ παρώξυνεν ὥσθ' ὑποσχέσθαι δύο τινὰς ἔς τε τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσᾴξειν[1]
33 κἀνταῦθα αὐτὸν φονεύσειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεμηνύθη (ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων πολὺ δυνάμενος,

[1] ἐσᾴξειν Dind., ἐσήξειν L.

city and of all its interests, as was their custom; B.C. 68
for to this decree was added the command that they should take care that no harm came to the state. When this had been done and garrisons had been stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with blackmail; but the messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and led to the indictment of Catiline for violence.

Catiline at first welcomed this heartily, as if supported by a good conscience, and pretended to make ready for the trial, even offering to surrender himself to Cicero, so that the latter, as he put it, could watch and see that he did not escape anywhere. As Cicero, however, refused to take charge of him, he voluntarily took up his residence at the house of Metellus the praetor, in order that he might be as free as possible from the suspicion of promoting a revolution until he should gain some additional strength from the conspirators there in the city. But he made no headway at all, since Antonius shrank back through fear and Lentulus was anything but energetic. Accordingly, he gave them notice to assemble by night at a certain house, where he met them without Metellus' knowledge and upbraided them for their timidity and weakness. Next he set forth in detail the many penalties they would suffer if they were detected and the many advantages they would obtain if successful, and by this means encouraged and incited them to such a point that two men promised to rush into Cicero's house at daybreak and murder him there. This plot, too, was divulged, since Cicero, being a man of great influence,

συχνούς τε ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τοὺς μὲν οἰκειούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβῶν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγγέλλοντάς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχε), μεταστῆναι ἡ γερουσία τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐψηφίσατο.

2 Καὶ ὃς ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν τόν τε πόλεμον ἄντικρυς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς προσυνειλεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, κἂν[1] τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων,
3 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. ὅθενπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τήν τε βίαν αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀγνοοῦντές που τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν, ἔστειλαν, αὐτοί τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
4 καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· εἰλήχει γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρξαι, οὔτε δὲ ἐς ἐκείνην (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς δίκας σπουδὴν ἐξέστη) οὔτε ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἣν ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρόντα ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὴν σφετερίσηται, ἔπεμψε.

34 Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ Λεντούλου καταπρῆσαί τέ τινας[2] καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομωμοκότων καὶ μετὰ Ἀλλοβρίγων, οὓς κατὰ πρεσβείαν παρόντας

[1] κἂν R. Steph., καὶ L.
[2] τινας is probably corrupt, though Rk. supplied συνοικίας ("blocks of houses"). Bk. suggested τὸ ἄστυ ("the city") in place of τινας.

and one who gained many followers through his speeches, either by conciliation or by intimidation, had many men to report such occurrences to him; and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city. B.C. 63

He gladly withdrew on this excuse, and went to Faesulae, where he took up the war openly. Assuming the name and dress of the consuls, he proceeded to organize the men previously collected by Manlius, meanwhile gaining accessions, first of freemen, and then even of slaves. The Romans accordingly convicted him of violence, and sent Antonius to the war,—being ignorant, of course, of his part in the conspiracy,—while they themselves changed their apparel.[1] Cicero, too, remained on the spot because of this crisis. For although he had drawn the province of Macedonia, he neither set out for that country—retiring in favour of his colleague because of his interest in the prosecutions—nor yet for Hither Gaul, which he had obtained in its place, in view of the existing situation. Instead, he charged himself with the protection of the city, but sent Metellus to Gaul to prevent Catiline from securing it.

It was extremely opportune for the Romans that he remained. For Lentulus made preparations to burn down [the city ?] and commit murder with the aid of his fellow-conspirators and of Allobroges, who while present on an embassy were persuaded to join

[1] The well-known practice on the occasion of a public calamity. Cf. ch. 40, 2; also xxxviii. 14, 7 and xl. 46, 1.

2 ἀνέπεισε συμφρονῆσαί τε αὐτῷ . . . καὶ συλλαβὼν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν σταλέντας ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς δοὺς πᾶσαν οὕτω τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἤλεγξε. κἀκ τούτου ὁ Λέντουλος ἀπειπεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐν φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συλληφθέντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
3 ἀνεζητοῦντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὁμοίως ἤρεσε, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδή, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δημηγοροῦντός τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνιδρύθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγο-
4 ρὰν βλέπον ἀνετέθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί τε συνωμοσίαν τινὰ ἐξελεγχθήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος στάσεως[1] εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τό τε θεῖον ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο.

35 Διῆλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἠξίουν τοιοῦτό τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπ-
2 οπτεύειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιτίων ὑπετόπουν αὐτό, ὅπως βοηθείας τινὸς διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο, τύχωσι, λογοποιεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τισι καὶ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε ἐδικαίουν ἄνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφῶν ὄντα ἀπολέσαι[2] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκταράξαι.
3 Ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε· παρασκευαζομένων δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ

[1] στάσεως Gros, πτώσεως L. [2] ἀπολέσαι Rk., ἀπολέσθαι L.

him . . . [Cicero] arrested the men sent to carry it out (?) and brought them with their letters into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he showed up the whole conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the other conspirators were being sought. These measures were equally pleasing to the people, especially so, because while Cicero was addressing them on the subject the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol, at the very time of the assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the east and the Forum. For these seers had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the discovery of the conspirators, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at the accused. B.C. 63

Now a report spread that Crassus was also among them, and even one of the men arrested gave this information; nevertheless, few believed it. Some thought they had no right to suspect him of such a thing for a moment; others regarded it as a story trumped up by the accused, in order that they might thereby receive some aid from him, because he possessed the greatest influence. And if it did seem credible to some, at least they did not see fit to ruin one of their foremost men and to disquiet the city still further. Consequently this charge fell through utterly.

Now many slaves and freemen as well, some

ἐλευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἴκτῳ
τοῦ τε Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξαρπάσαι πάν-
τας αὐτοὺς ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενος
τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων τό τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν ἀγο-
4 ρὰν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾷ προκατέσχε, καί τινα
παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ
λαβών, ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ
ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἤρθη, τὸν μὲν δῆμον
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δή
τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε, καί σφας συν-
ταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσας ἔπεισε θάνατον τῶν
συνειλημμένων καταγνῶναι.

36 Ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίβολοι, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον
αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσαν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, πάντων τῶν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένων ἀποθανεῖν σφας, γνώμην
ἔδωκε δῆσαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς πόλεις ἄλλους ἄλλῃ
2 καταθέσθαι, τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστερημένους, ἐπὶ τῷ
μήτε περὶ ἀδείας ἔτι αὐτῶν χρηματισθῆναί τί
ποτε, κἂν διαδρᾷ[1] τις, ἐν πολεμίων μοίρᾳ τὴν
πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἂν φύγῃ εἶναι· καὶ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ
μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποφηνάμενοι μέχρι τοῦ Κάτωνος
ἐψηφίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινὰς
3 μεταγνῶναι.[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος αὐτός τε τὸν θάνα-
τον αὐτῶν κατεδίκασε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας
ὁμοψήφους ἐποιήσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκ τῆς
νικώσης ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσία

[1] διαδρᾷ Dind., διαδράσῃ L.
[2] μεταγνῶναι Turn., καταγνῶναι L.

through fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and B.C. 63 the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and the Forum by night with a garrison. At dawn he received some divine inspiration to hope for the best; for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up to a very great height. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer the oath of enlistment to the populace, in case there should be any need of soldiers; meanwhile he himself convened the senate, and by exciting and terrifying the members, he persuaded them to condemn to death those who had been arrested.

Now the senators had been at variance, and had come near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he expressed the opinion that they should be imprisoned and placed in various cities after having their property confiscated, on the condition that there should never be any further deliberation concerning their pardon, and that if any one of them should escape, the city from which he fled should be considered in the light of an enemy. Then all who subsequently made known their views, until it came to Cato, voted this same way, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato gave sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority, and a sacrifice and period of festival over

καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐψηφίσθη, ὃ μηπώποτε ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἐγεγόνει· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἐζητοῦντο, καί τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλῆσαι συμ-
4 φρονήσειν αὐτοῖς ὑποπτευθέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὕπατοι διῴκουν, Αὖλον δὲ Φούλουιον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν, οὔτι γε καὶ μόνος, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας· συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ὕπατοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιῶται, παῖδάς σφων ἀπέκτειναν.

37 Τότε μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν ἱερέων, γράψαντος μὲν τοῦ Λαβιήνου, σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὸν δῆμον αὖθις ὁ ὅμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν, ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω
2 ἐστρατηγηκώς, ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς, διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ τε Λαβιήνῳ κατὰ τοῦ Ῥαβιρίου συνηγώνιστο[1] καὶ τὸν Λέντουλον ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐψήφιστο, λαβὼν τοῦτό τε ἔπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρεως τῶν ποντιφίκων, καίπερ ἄλλων τε τῆς τιμῆς πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Κατούλου μάλιστα ἀντιποιουμένων, ἀπεδείχθη.
3 καὶ γὰρ θεραπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἑτοιμότατος ἐγένετο, καὶ οὔτε λόγου οὔτε ἔργου οὐδενὸς ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὧν ἐσπούδαζεν[2] ἐξίστατο· οὐδὲ ἔμελέν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα ταπεινότητος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔπειτα ἰσχύν, ἀλλ'

[1] συνηγώνιστο Bk., συνηγωνίσατο L.
[2] ἐσπούδαζεν R. Steph., ἐσπούδαζον L.

them was decreed—a thing that had never before happened from any such cause. Others also against whom information was lodged were sought out, and some incurred suspicion and were called to account for merely intending to join the conspiracy. The consuls conducted most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and the latter was not the only private individual, as some think, who ever acted thus. There were many others, that is to say, not only consuls, but private individuals as well, who slew their sons. This was the course of affairs at that time. B.C. 63

The priestly elections, on motion of Labienus supported by Caesar, were again referred by the plebs to the people, contrary to the law of Sulla, but by a renewal of the law of Domitius. For Caesar at the death of Metellus Pius was eager for his priesthood, although he was young and had not yet served as praetor. Basing his hopes of it upon the multitude, therefore, especially because he had helped Labienus against Rabirius and had not voted for the death of Lentulus, he accomplished his purpose and was elected pontifex maximus, in spite of the fact that many others, and Catulus in particular, were his rivals for the honour. This was because he showed himself perfectly ready to serve and flatter everybody, even ordinary persons, and shrank from no speech or action in order to get possession of the objects for which he strove. He did not mind temporary grovelling when weighed against subsequent power, and he cringed as before superiors

ὧν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεῦσαι, τούτους ὡς καὶ κρείττονας ὑπήρχετο.

38 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ πολλοὶ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὀργῇ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιούμενοι τά τε ἄλλα ἤχθαιρον, καὶ τέλος ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε καὶ καταλέξαι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποιήκει τῇ
2 τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐθελήσαντα (πάνυ γάρ που ἡδέως οὐχ ὅπως ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐπῃνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεκωμίαζεν) ἐσίγασαν, οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὅρκου φθέγξασθαι, συναγωνιστῇ Μετέλλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρχοῦντι χρησάμενοι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀντιφιλονεικήσας προσεπώμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκὼς τὴν πόλιν εἴη.

39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμισήθη, Κατιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιός[1] τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίννιος ἦρξαν ἀπεφθάρη. τέως μὲν γὰρ καίπερ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐκαραδόκει τὰ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ διέμελλεν ἐλπίζων, ἂν φθάσωσιν ὅ τε Κικέρων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαγέντες, ῥᾳδίως τὰ λοιπὰ
2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι·[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπολωλότα ἐπύθετο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχνοὺς μεθισταμένους διὰ τοῦτ' ᾔσθετο, ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισούλαις προσεδρεύοντες οὐδαμῇ προελθεῖν[3] αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεπον, ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ἠναγκάσθη, καί (ἦσαν γὰρ δίχα ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι) πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτράπετο,

[1] Ἰούνιός Xyl., ἰούλιός L.
[2] προσκατεργάσεσθαι Dind., προσκατεργάσασθαι L.
[3] προελθεῖν Leuncl., προσελθεῖν L.

to the very men whom he was endeavouring to dominate. B.C. 63

Toward Caesar, accordingly, the masses were well disposed, for the reasons given, but they were angry at Cicero for the death of the citizens, and displayed their enmity in many ways. Finally, when on the last day of his office he desired to present his account and defence of all that he had done in his consulship,—for he certainly did take great pleasure not only in being praised by others but also in extolling himself,—they made him keep silent and did not allow him to utter a word outside of his oath; in this they had Metellus Nepos, the tribune, to aid them. Nevertheless, Cicero, doing his best to resist them, added to his oath the statement that he had saved the city; and for this he incurred much greater hatred.

Catiline perished at the very opening of the year in which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. For a while, although he had no small force, he had watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in time he could easily carry out his remaining plans. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk all on a battle, especially since Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulae, did not allow him to advance anywhere. As the two were encamped separately, he proceeded against Antonius, B.C. 62

καίπερ τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλου
3 *καὶ δύναμιν πλείω περιβεβλημένον. αἴτιον δὲ*
ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνώμοτον ἐθελοκα-
κήσειν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ
μήτε δι' εὐνοίας ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἅτε ἀσθενεῖ ὄντι ὢν
(πρός τε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις τινῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ
ἑαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τάς τε φιλίας
4 *οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται), καὶ προσκαταδείσας μή*
πως προθύμως σφᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἰδὼν ἐξονει-
δίσῃ τι καὶ προενέγκῃ οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς
μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο, Μάρκῳ δὲ Πετρείῳ τὴν
40 *μάχην ἐπέτρεψε. συμβαλὼν οὖν οὗτός σφισι*
τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ ἄλλους τρισχιλίους προθυ-
μότατα ἀγωνιζομένους οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ κατέκοψεν·
οὔτε γὰρ ἔφυγεν αὐτῶν οὐδείς, καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ πάντες
ἔπεσον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κρατήσαντας πολὺ
τῶν κοινῶν ὀδύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τοιούτους καὶ
τοσούτους, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας
2 *τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλωλέκεσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν*
Ἀντώνιος τήν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,
ὅπως πιστεύσαντες αὐτὸν τετελευτηκέναι μηδὲν
ἔτι δεδίωσιν, ἔπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ, καίτοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν[1] *πεφονευμένων*
ἐλάττονος παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον ὄντος, ἐπεκλήθη.
βουθυτηθῆναί τε ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὡς
καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον.[2]
41 *Οὐ μὴν οἵ γε σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχόντες τῷ Κατι-*
λίνᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἔτι περιόντες ἡσύ-
χαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράττοντο.

[1] *τῶν* Gros, *τῶν τε* L.
[2] *μετέβαλον* R. Steph., *μετέβαλλον* L.

in spite of the fact that this leader was superior to Metellus in rank and was accompanied by a larger force. He did this because he had hopes that Antonius would let himself be beaten in view of his part in the conspiracy. The latter, who suspected this, no longer felt kindly toward Catiline, because he was weak; for most men form both friendships and enmities with reference to others' influence and their own advantage. Furthermore, being afraid that Catiline, when he saw them fighting with a will, might utter some reproach and reveal some of their secrets, he pretended to be ill, and entrusted the conduct of the battle to Marcus Petreius. This commander joined battle with the rebels and in a very bloody contest cut down Catiline and three thousand others as they fought most bravely; for not one of them fled, but every man fell at his post. Even the victors mourned the common loss, inasmuch as they had destroyed, however justly, so many and such brave men, who were citizens and allies in spite of all. Antonius sent Catiline's head to the city in order that the people might be assured of his death and have no further fear. He himself was acclaimed *imperator* for the victory, although the slain fell below the required number.[1] Sacrifices were also decreed, and the people changed their raiment to signify their deliverance from all dangers.[2] B.C. 62

Nevertheless, the allies who had shared in the undertaking with Catiline and still survived did not remain quiet, but through fear of punishment proceeded to stir up rebellion. Against each division

[1] Appian (*B.C.* ii. 44) gives the number as 10,000; Diodorus (quoted by Photius *Bibl.* 638 H) as 6,000.

[2] See chapter 33, 3 above.

καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ' ἑκάστους πεμ-
φθέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπον τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένους
2 καὶ ἐτιμωρήσαντο· ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν λανθανόντων μη-
νύσει Λουκίου Οὐεττίου ἀνδρὸς ἱππέως, συγκοινω-
νήσαντος μέν σφισι τῆς συνωμοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπ'
ἀδείᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκφαίνοντος, ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐδικαι-
οῦντο, μέχρις οὗ ἐσαγγείλας τινάς τά τε ὀνόματα
αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράψας[1] ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλους
3 συχνοὺς προσεγγράψαι ἠθέλησεν. ὑποπτεύσαν-
τες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ βουλευταὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς πράττειν,
τὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ[2] ἔδωκαν, μὴ καὶ
ἀπαλείψῃ τινάς, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἐκέ-
λευσαν ὅσους παραλελοιπέναι ἔφασκε. καὶ
οὕτως αἰδεσθεὶς καὶ φοβηθεὶς οὐκέτι πολλοὺς
4 ἐνέδειξε. θορύβου δ' οὖν καὶ[3] ὣς ἔν τε τῇ πόλει
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ὠνομα-
σμένων ὄντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
μάτην θορυβουμένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἑτέρους
οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτευόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰ
ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθῆναι. κἀκ τούτου οἵ τε
ἀναίτιοι κατέστησαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις δίκαι
ἐγένοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παρόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἐρήμην ὦφλον.
42 Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατε-
λύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν γε[4] τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων
ἀξίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντας ἔσχε·
Κικέρων δὲ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῇ
τοῦ Λεντούλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεθέντων
2 σφαγῇ ἐκρίθη. τὸ δὲ ἔγκλημα τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν
ἐκείνῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ κατε-

[1] ἐγγράψας Bs., συγγράψας L. [2] αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
[3] καὶ inserted by Bk. [4] γε St., τε L.

of them praetors were sent, who overcame them promptly, while they were still more or less scattered, and punished them. Others who had been avoiding observation were convicted and condemned on information furnished by Lucius Vettius, a knight, who had taken part in the conspiracy but now on promise of immunity revealed the participants. This went on until, after having accused some men and written their names on a tablet, he desired the privilege of adding various others. The senators suspected that he was up to some mischief and would not give him the document again for fear he should erase some of the names, but bade him mention orally all he claimed to have omitted. Then in shame and fear he named only a few others. Since even then there was excitement in the city and among the allies through ignorance of the persons named, and some were needlessly troubled about themselves, while some incorrectly suspected others, the senate decreed that the names should be published. As a result the innocent regained their composure and the accused were brought to trial; the latter were condemned, some being present and others letting their cases go by default. B.C. 62

Such was the career of Catiline and such his downfall; but he gained a greater name than his deeds deserved, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches he delivered against him. Cicero, on his side, came near being tried then and there for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. This charge, though technically brought against him, was

σκευάζετο· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἐξὸν σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ
δήμου θάνατον πολίτου τινὸς καταψηφίσασθαι,
πολλὴν καταβοὴν ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλ-
3 *λου τοῦ Νέπωτος ὅτι μάλιστα εἶχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ*
ὦφλε τότε οὐδέν· τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἄδειαν πᾶσι
τοῖς διαχειρίσασι τὰ τότε πραχθέντα δούσης, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ προειπούσης[1] *ὅτι, κἂν αὖθίς τις*
εὐθῦναί τινα αὐτῶν τολμήσῃ, ἔν τε ἐχθροῦ καὶ
ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ ἔσται, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Νέπως
καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐκίνησεν.

43 *Ἔν τε οὖν τούτῳ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν*
ἐκείνῳ[2] *ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μετα-*
πεμφθῆναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ
Ἀσίᾳ ἔτ' ἦν) προφάσει μὲν τοῦ τὰ παρόντα
κατασταθῆναι, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἅτε τὰ
τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντος, ἰσχύσειν ἐν οἷς ἐτάρασ-
σεν, ἐσηγησαμένου, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι.
2 *τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὅ τε Κάτων καὶ Κύιντος*
Μινούκιος δημαρχοῦντες ἀντέλεγον τοῖς γραφεῖσι,
καὶ τόν τε[3] *γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα τὴν*
γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμμα-
τεῖον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναλέξῃ, λαβόντος ἐξήρπασαν,
ἐπειδή τε καὶ ὣς ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινὰ εἰπεῖν
3 *ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης*
δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
ἑκατέροις βοηθησάντων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, ἔτι δὲ
καὶ ξίφεσι γενομένης, οἱ βουλευταὶ συνῆλθον
αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τά τε ἱμάτια
ἠλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

[1] *προειπούσης* Rk., *προσειπούσης* L.
[2] *ἐν ἐκείνῳ* Rk., *ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ* L.
[3] *τε* placed after *τὸν* by Rk., after *τὴν* by L.

really directed against the senate. For its members were violently denounced before the populace, especially by Metellus Nepos, on the ground that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. Nevertheless, Cicero escaped on this occasion. For the senate granted immunity to all those who had administered affairs during that period, and further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call one of them to account later, he should be regarded as a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and made no further trouble. B.C. 62

This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey, who was still in Asia, be summoned with his army, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing order out of the existing confusion, but really in the hope that he himself might through him gain power amid the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favoured the multitude; but the senators prevented this motion from being adopted. In the first place, Cato and Quintus Minucius, the tribunes, vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Then when Nepos took the document to read it himself, they took it away, and when even then he undertook to speak extempore, they stopped his mouth. The result was that a battle waged with clubs and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined, assisting one side or the other. Therefore the senators met in the senate-house that very day, changed their raiment and gave the consuls charge of the

πόλεως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι,
4 *ἐπέτρεψαν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπως ἔκ τε τοῦ μέσου εὐθὺς ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γραφήν τινα κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφώρμησε, καίτοι μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ νύκτα ἀπαυλισθῆναι*[1] *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξόν.*

44 *Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδ' ὁ Καῖσαρ (ἐστρατήγει δέ) οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐνεωτέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατούλου ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθείη (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ηὔθυνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων χρημάτων ἀπῄτει), τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ τὰ λοιπὰ*
2 *προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπείη. ἦν γάρ τινα, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ ἔργῳ, ἡμιτέλεστα· ἢ ἐκεῖνός γε ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπήιος τήν τε δόξαν τῆς ἐκποιήσεως αὐτοῦ λάβῃ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ. οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἤθελεν ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναί τι*[2] *τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἐπὶ τῷ Νέπωτι ἐδέδοκτο,*[3] *ὑπομεῖναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ*
3 *τούτων τὸ πλῆθος σφετερίσηται· καίπερ οὕτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδισαν*[4] *(οὐδέπω γὰρ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀφήσων δῆλος ἦν) ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ Μᾶρκον Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἴτησιν ὑπατείας προύπεμψε, τάς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς αὐτάς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδεῖξαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συνέστησεν αὐτόν.*

[1] ἀπαυλισθῆναι Jacoby, ἀπολιπῆναι L. [2] τι R. Steph., ἔτι L.
[3] ἐδέδοκτο Bs., δέδοκται L. [4] ἐδέδισαν St., ἐδεδείεσαν L.

city, that it might suffer no harm. Then Nepos once more became afraid and immediately retired from their midst; subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city for a single night. B.C. 62

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now praetor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favour that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey's sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means. And yet all stood in such fear of Pompey, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections so that he might attend them; and on his arrival they elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.

45 Κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου[1] τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔν τε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἅπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι παρά τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἄγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν, αἰσχύναντος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἁλώσεται διὰ τὴν
2 ἑταιρείαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικῆσαι[2] ἔτ' αὐτῇ δύνασθαι, διότι καὶ ὑπωπτεύθη ἀρχὴν μεμοιχεῦσθαι· τὴν γὰρ σώφρονα χρῆναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐς ὑποψίαν αἰσχρὰν ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

3 Τότε μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιθίνη ἡ[3] ἐς τὸ νησίδιον τὸ[4] ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὃν φέ-
46 ρουσα κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρικία κληθεῖσα· τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει[5] ἐπί τε Πίσωνος καὶ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων μισοῦντές τε ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Κλώδιον, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ μίασμα αὐτοῦ ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ποντίφικες ἀνατυθῆναι τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς οὐχ ὁσίως διὰ τοῦτο τελεσθέντα
2 ἔγνωσαν, δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατηγορήθη μὲν τῆς τε μοιχείας, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος σιωπῶντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ Νίσιβιν,[6] καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ συγγίγνοιτο, ἀφείθη δέ, καίτοι τῶν δικαστῶν φρουρὰν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, καὶ αἰτησάντων καὶ λαβόντων.
3 ἐφ' ᾧπερ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν

[1] Πουπλίου R. Steph., πομπηίου L.
[2] συνοικῆσαι Bs., συνοικήσειν L.
[3] ἡ inserted by St.
[4] τὸ Leuncl., τότε L.
[5] ἔτει supplied by Bk.
[6] Νίσιβιν R. Steph., νίσιβι L.

It was at this time that Publius Clodius debauched Caesar's wife in Caesar's own house and during the performance of the rites which according to ancestral custom the Vestals carried out at the residences of consuls and praetors out of sight of the whole male population. Caesar brought no charge against him, understanding well that on account of his associates he would not be convicted; but he divorced his wife, telling her that he did not really believe the story, but that he could no longer live with her inasmuch as she had once been suspected of committing adultery; for a chaste wife not only must not err, but must not even incur any evil suspicion. B.C. 62

Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber, was constructed. The next year, in the consulship of Piso and Marcus Messalla, the optimates showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his crime by bringing him to trial, since the pontifices had decided that in view of his act the rites had not been duly performed and should be repeated. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar's silence, and of mutiny at Nisibis, and furthermore of holding guilty relations with his sister; yet he was acquitted, although the jurymen had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. With reference to this Catulus jestingly remarked B.C. 61

ὅτι τὴν φυλακὴν ᾔτησαν οὐχ ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς τοῦ
Κλωδίου καταψηφίσωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὰ
χρήματα ἃ ἐδεδωροδοκήκεσαν διασώσωνται. καὶ
ὁ μὲν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον ἀεὶ
πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ
4 ὕστερον· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ οἵ τε τιμηταὶ
πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γενομένους ἐς τὸ
βουλευτικὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψαν,
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπαυστὶ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὁπλομαχίας
θεώμενος ἐξανέστη τε μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ
ἄριστον εἵλετο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον
καὶ νῦν, ὁσάκις ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἀγωνοθετῇ,
γίγνεται.

47 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη,
τῶν δὲ Ἀλλοβρίγων τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ
Νάρβωνα πορθούντων Γάιος Πομπτῖνος ὁ ἄρχων
αὐτῆς τοὺς μὲν ὑποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἱδρυθεὶς
ἐπετήρει τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὅπως κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς
τὸ ἀεὶ χρήσιμον καὶ γνώμην σφίσι διδόναι καὶ
2 ἐπαμύνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν Λεντῖνος
ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν[1] πόλιν στρατεύσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς
κατέπληξεν[2] ὥστε τοὺς πλείους ἐκδρᾶναι καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσασθαι. κἂν
τούτῳ συμβοηθησάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὄντων
καὶ προσπεσόντων αἰφνιδίως τοῦ μὲν τείχους
ἀπεώσθη,[3] τὴν δὲ δὴ χώραν ἀδεῶς ἐλεηλάτει,
3 μέχρις οὗ ὅ τε Κατούγνατος[4] ὁ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν
ἔθνους στρατηγὸς καί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ

[1] Οὐαλεντίαν Heller, Οὐεντίαν L.
[2] κατέπληξεν Rk., κατέπτηξεν L.
[3] ἀπεώσθη St., ἀπώσθη L.
[4] Κατούγνατος R. Steph., καὶ τοῦ γνατος L.

that they had asked for the guard, not in order to condemn Clodius with safety, but in order to save for themselves the money which they had received in bribes. Now Catulus died shortly afterward; he was a man who always, more conspicuously than any one who ever lived, preferred the common weal to everything else. That year the censors enrolled in the senatorial body all who had attained office, even beyond the legal number. At this time, too, the populace, which hitherto had watched the gladiatorial contests without any intermission, went out for lunch in the course of the entertainment. This practice, which began at that time, is continued even now, whenever the person in charge exhibits games. This was the course of affairs in the city. B.C. 61

The Allobroges were devastating Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaius Pomptinus, the governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, while he himself took up his quarters at a convenient spot for keeping watch of what occurred, so that he might be able to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate. Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and so terrified the inhabitants that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors regarding peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the leader of their whole tribe, with some of those dwelling along the

τὸν Ἴσαρα οἰκούντων ἐπεκούρησάν σφισι. τότε
γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
τῶν πλοίων περαιωθῆναι κωλῦσαι, μὴ καὶ συ-
στραφῶσιν ἰδόντες σφᾶς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους,
4 ὑλώδους δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθὺς
ὄντος, ἐνέδρας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ
διαβαίνοντας ὑπολαμβάνων ἔφθειρε. φεύγουσί
τέ τισιν ἐπισπόμενος περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατου-
γνάτῳ· κἂν πασσυδὶ διώλετο, εἰ μὴ χειμὼν
σφοδρὸς ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενος ἐπέσχε τοὺς βαρ-
48 βάρους τῆς διώξεως. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ
Κατουγνάτου πόρρω ποι ἀφορμήσαντος, τήν τε
χώραν αὖθις κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ' ᾧ
ἐδυστύχησεν ἐξεῖλε· Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ
Σέρουιος Γάλβας τόν τε Ῥοδανὸν ἐπεραιώθησαν,
καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων λυμηνάμενοι τέλος πρὸς
2 Σολώνιον πόλιν ἦλθον, καὶ χωρίον μέν τι[1] ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς ἰσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχῃ τε τοὺς ἀντι-
στάντας σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν, καί τινα καὶ τοῦ
πολίσματος ξυλίνου πῃ ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ εἷλον αὐτό· ὁ γὰρ Κατούγνατος
ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Πομπτῖ-
νος ἐπεστράτευσέ τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ,
καὶ πολιορκήσας σφᾶς ἐχειρώσατο πλὴν τοῦ
Κατουγνάτου.

49 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥᾷον ἐκ τούτου προσ-
κατεστρέψατο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τόν τε Ἀφράνιον
τὸν Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπά-
τους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δι' αὐτῶν
2 μάτην πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο καταπράξειν. ἤθελε

[1] μέν τι R. Steph., μέντοι L.

Isara came to their aid. For the time being he did not dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of their boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades there, and captured and destroyed the men as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not a violent storm suddenly come up and prevented the barbarians from pursuing. Later, when Catugnatus had retired to some distant point, Lentinus overran the country again and destroyed the town before which he had met with his reverse. Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after ravaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. They conquered their opponents in battle and also set fire to portions of the town, which was partly constructed of wood; they did not capture it, however, being prevented by the arrival of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on learning of this, proceeded against the place with his entire army, besieged it, and got possession of the defenders, with the exception of Catugnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining districts. B.C. 61

At this time Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. He wished in particular to have some B.C. 60

μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα χώραν τέ
τινα τοῖς συνεστρατευμένοις οἱ δοθῆναι καὶ τὰ
πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε
δέ σφων τότε. οἵ τε γὰρ δυνατοί, μηδὲ[1] ἐκ τοῦ
πρὶν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὰ ψηφι-
3 σθῆναι· καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων Ἀφράνιος μέν
(ὀρχεῖσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἠπί-
στατο) πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ
ὀργῇ, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι παῖδας ἐξ
αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεπέπεμπτο,[2] καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα
4 ἀντέπραξεν. ὅ τε Λούκουλλος ὁ Λούκιος, ᾧ ποτε
ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐντυχὼν ὑπερφρόνως
ἐκέχρητο, πολύς τε αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἔπραξεν ἐπεξ-
ελθεῖν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὴν κύρωσιν
5 αἰτεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ δίκαιον εἶναι ἔλεγε μὴ
πάντα ἁπλῶς ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει, καὶ ἃ μηδείς σφων
ἠπίστατο ὁποῖα ἦν,[3] βεβαιωθῆναι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
δεσπότου τινὸς γεγενημένα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων κατελελύκει τινά, ἠξίου ἐξετασμὸν
ἑκατέρων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι, ἵν' ὁπότερ' ἂν[4]
50 αὐτοῖς ἀρέσῃ κυρώσωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων
ὅ τε Μέτελλος οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ αὐτά σφισι
βουλόμενοι ἰσχυρῶς συνεμάχουν. τοῦ γοῦν δημάρχου, τοῦ τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνεξητασμένοις κατανεῖμαι ἐσηγουμένου, προσγράψαντος τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅπως τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ ῥᾷον ψηφίσωνται καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ βεβαιώσωσι, κλήρους τινὰς δοθῆναι, ἐπὶ πᾶν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀνθιστάμενος ἐπεξῆλθεν, ὥστε

[1] μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L.
[2] ἀπεπέπεμπτο Melber, ἀπεπέμπετο L.
[3] ἦν v. Herw., εἶναι L.
[4] ὁπότερ' ἂν Pflugk, ὁπότερα L.

land given to his soldiers and to have all his acts approved; but he failed of these objects at that time. For, in the first place, the optimates, who even before this had not been pleased with him, prevented the questions from being brought to vote. And as for the consuls themselves, Afranius, who understood how to dance better than to transact any business, did not assist him at all, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, vigorously opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus, whom Pompey had once treated with contempt when he met him in Galatia, was very bitter against him, demanding that he render an account individually and separately of everything that he had done instead of asking for the approval of all his acts at once. He maintained that it was only fair, in any case, that Pompey's acts, as to the character of which no one knew anything, should not all be confirmed by a single vote, as if they were the acts of a master. And since Pompey had furthermore set aside some of Lucullus' own arrangements, he demanded that an investigation of the acts of each should be made in the senate, in order that they might ratify whichever suited them. He was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest, who were of the same mind with them. Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the followers of Pompey added to the measure a provision that grants should be made to all the citizens likewise, in order that they might more readily accept this particular feature and also ratify Pompey's acts, Metellus contested every point B.C. 60

καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθῆναι καὶ τὴν
2 γερουσίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀθροῖσαι ἐθελῆσαι. ἐπεί τε
ἐκεῖνος (Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλάουιος ὠνομάζετο) τό τε
βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐσόδῳ αὐτοῦ
ἔθηκε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος ἐμποδὼν ὥστε
μηδένα ἐσιέναι ἐγίγνετο, τόν τε τοῖχον τοῦ δεσμω-
τηρίου διακοπῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ
βουλὴ ἐσέλθῃ, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύσων κατὰ χώραν
3 παρεσκευάζετο. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος,
καὶ αἰσχυνθείς τε ἅμα καὶ δείσας μὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἀγανακτήσῃ, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίῳ ἀπαναστῆ-
ναι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦτ'
ἀξιώσαντος, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστεύετο· τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα
4 αὐτοῦ κατάδηλον πᾶσιν ἦν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων
δημάρχων ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν βουληθέντων οὐκ ἠθέ-
λησεν. οὔκουν οὐδ' αὖθις ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλα-
ουίῳ μηδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔθνος ὃ ἐπεκεκλήρωτο ἐπιτρέψειν
αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσειέν οἱ διανομοθετῆσαι,
ἐξελθεῖν, ὑπεῖξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενος ἐν τῇ
πόλει κατέμεινεν.
5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν διά τε τὸν
Μέτελλον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἔφη
μὲν φθονεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦτο
δηλώσειν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνου διαμαρτὼν
μείζω αἰσχύνην ὄφλῃ,[1] κατέβαλε τὴν ἀξίωσιν.
6 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω γνοὺς ὅτι μηδὲν ὄντως[2] ἴσχυεν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐφ'[3] οἷς ἠδυ-
νήθη ποτὲ εἶχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώ-
νητο, μετεμέλετο ὅτι τά τε στρατόπεδα προαφῆκε
51 καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε· Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπε-

[1] ὄφλῃ Dind., ὀφλήσῃ L. [2] ὄντως Rk., οὕτως L.
[3] ἐφ' Pflugk, ἐν L.

with him and attacked him so persistently that the latter had him put in prison. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other, whose name was Lucius Flavius, set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell, and sitting upon it, offered an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might gain entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night on the spot. When Pompey learned of this, he was ashamed as well as afraid that the people might take offence, and so directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed; for the latter's pride was well known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. Nor would he yield even when Flavius later threatened that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had drawn unless he would permit the law to be passed; on the contrary, he was very glad to remain in the city. B.C. 60

Pompey, therefore, when he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, declared that they were jealous of him and that he would make this clear to the plebs. Fearing, however, that he might fail of their support also, and so incur still greater shame, he abandoned his demands. Thus he learned that he did not possess any real power, but merely the name and envy resulting from his former authority, while in point of fact he received no benefit from it; and he repented of having let his legions go so soon and of having put himself in the power of his enemies.

θύμησε μὲν διὰ . . . τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ δημαρχῆσαι, καί τινας τῶν δημαρχούντων προκαθῆκεν ἐσηγήσασθαι τὸ[1] καὶ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισε, τήν τε εὐγένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτόν σφων τὸν σύλλογον ἐσελ-
2 θών, μετέστη. καὶ ᾔτησε μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν δημαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ Μετέλλου· ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρέσκετο. πρόφασιν δὲ ἐποιήσατο ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡ ἐκποίησις αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσφορᾷ τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου μόνως ἐξῆν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι.

3 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη δεινῶς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐλύπει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἀρεστὸς ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσενεγκόντι αὐτὸν ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταί (ὁ γὰρ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ἦν) ἠθέλησαν τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπαλεῖψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγγράψαι.
4 καὶ οὐκ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, καταφανὲς μέντοι πᾶσιν ἐγένετο ὅτι μηδὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἡδέως ἐδέχοντο. κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγῶνά τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἱστίασε, τά τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ[2] ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

52 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῆς τε Λυσιτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἦρξε, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ λῃστικά, ἅπερ που ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς πόνου

[1] τὸ Leuncl., τι L. [2] τὸ added by Rk.

BOOK XXXVII

Clodius' [hatred] of the optimates led him after the trial to desire to be tribune, and he induced some of those who held that office to move that the patricians also be given a share in it. As he could not bring this about, he abjured his patrician rank and assumed instead the status of the plebs, and even entered their assembly. He immediately sought the tribuneship, but was not elected, owing to the opposition of Metellus, who was related to him and did not like his actions. The excuse that Metellus gave was that the transfer of Clodius had not been in accordance with tradition; for this change might be made only after the introduction of a *lex curiata*. Thus ended this episode. B.C. 60

Since the taxes were proving oppressive to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them was acceptable to all.[1] The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. And although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from base men. About this same time Faustus, the son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial contest in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

• While these things were happening in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship; and though he might without any great labour have cleared the land of brigandage, which probably always existed there, and then

[1] Compare Cicero's words (*ad. Att.* ii. 16, 1) in 59 B.C.: *portoriis* (duties on exports and imports) *Italiae sublatis*.

καθήρας[1] ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε· δόξης
τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τούς τε
ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας
2 ζηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἤλπιζεν, ἄν τι
τότε κατεργάσηται, ὕπατός τε εὐθὺς αἱρεθήσεσθαι
καὶ ὑπερφυᾶ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διά τε τἆλλα
καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις, ὅτε ἐταμίευε, τῇ μητρὶ
συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων
ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὅθενπερ καὶ
εἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέους
ἀνακειμένην ἰδὼν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο
ὅτι μηδέν πω μέγα ἔργον ἐπεποιήκει.
3 Ἀπ' οὖν τούτων, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ εἰρηνεῖν, ὥσπερ
εἶπον, πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἑρμίνιον ἐτράπετο καὶ ἐκέ-
λευσε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ μετα-
στῆναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν
ὁρμώμενοι λῃστεύωσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ
ἄν ποτε αὐτὸ ποιήσειαν, κἀκ τούτου πολέμου τινὰ
4 ἀφορμὴν λήψεται. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. τούτους τε
οὖν ἐς ὅπλα ἐλθόντας ὑπηγάγετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ
τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινές, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ
σφᾶς ὁρμήσῃ, τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα ὑπὲρ τὸν Δώριον
ὑπεξέθεντο, τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἐν ᾧ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον
προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις προσ-
5 έμιξε. προβαλλομένων τε τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτῶν,
ὅπως σκεδασθεῖσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν
βοσκημάτων ἁρπαγὴν ἐπίθωνται, τὰ τετράποδα[2]
53 παρῆκε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβὼν ἐνίκησε. κἀν τούτῳ

[1] καθήρας Rk., καθῆιραι L.
[2] τὰ τετράποδα Rk., τά τε στρατόπεδα L.

have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He B.C. 60 was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet.

Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. This was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them. Meanwhile he learned

μαθὼν τοὺς τὸ Ἑρμίνιον οἰκοῦντας ἀφεστηκέναι τε καὶ ἐπανιόντα αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύειν μέλλειν, τότε μὲν ἑτέραν ἀνεχώρησεν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπεστράτευσέ σφισιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανὸν φεύγοντας
2 αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξεν. ἐπειδή τε τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκλιπόντες ἐς νῆσόν τινα ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν (οὐ[1] γάρ που πλοίων εὐπόρει) κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, σχεδίας δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε· χηλῇ[2] γάρ τινι πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ οὔσῃ προσσχὼν[3] ὁ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σφῶν ἔχων, καὶ ὡς[4] καὶ πεζῇ διαβαδίσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτός τε ὑπὸ[5] τῆς ἀναρροίας ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐξανήχθη καὶ ἐκείνους
3 ἐγκατέλιπε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι ἔπεσον, Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ Σκαίουιος μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος στερηθεὶς πολλά τε τραυματισθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐσεπήδησε
4 καὶ διενήξατο. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὕστερον δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλοῖα ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μεταπεμψάμενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἀκονιτὶ αὐτούς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχοντας, παρεστήσατο. κἀντεῦθεν ἐς Βριγάντιον πόλιν Καλλαικίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ[6] σφᾶς τοῦ πρόσπλου, οὐπώποτε ναυτικὸν ἑορακότας, ἐξεφόβησε καὶ κατεστρέψατο.

54 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας ἱκανὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβασίαν[7] πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, καὶ πρὶν τὸν διάδοχον ἐλθεῖν, ὥρμησε, καὶ ἠξίου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψαι τὰ

[1] οὐ inserted by Bs.
[2] χηλῇ Schenkl, γῇ L.
[3] προσσχὼν Bk., προσχὼν L.
[4] ὡς Rk., ἅτε ὡς L.
[5] ὑπὸ St., ἀπὸ L.
[6] ῥοθίῳ Turn., ὀρθίῳ L.
[7] ἐπιβασίαν St., ἐπὶ βασιλείαν L.

that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he returned. So for the time being he withdrew by another road, but later marched against them and, being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost a number of men. For the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them. B.C. 60

On accomplishing this he thought he had gained thereby a sufficient stepping-stone to the consulship and set out hastily for the elections even before his successor arrived. He decided to seek the office even before holding his triumph, since

ἐπινίκια, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἷά τε προδιεορτασθῆναι ἦν,
2 αἰτῆσαι αὐτήν. μὴ τυχὼν δέ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος, ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἴασε· καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζε πολὺ πλείω καὶ μείζω ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ ἔργα πράξειν καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἀεί ποτε ἐφρόνει, ἵππος τις αὐτῷ διαφυὰς ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσθίων ποδῶν ὁπλαῖς[1] ἔχων ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν γαυρούμενος ἔφερεν, ἄλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα
3 ἀνεδέχετο. ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μικρὸν οὐδὲν προσδοκῶν τὰ μὲν νικητήρια ἑκὼν ἀφῆκεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τόν τε Κράσσον ἐξεθεράπευσεν, ὥστε δι' ἔχθρας ἀλλήλοις ἔτι καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας ἔχοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐθέλοντα αἴσθοιτο ἀντιστασιάζοντας, προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν
4 ἀποδειχθῆναι. καίτοι τοῦτο τὴν σοφίαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριοῖ, ὅτι τόν τε καιρὸν καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγνω καὶ διέθετο οὕτως ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα καίπερ[2] ἀντιπράττοντάς σφισι προσθέσθαι.

55 Καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους συνήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὅτι συνενεχθῆναί σφας ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνατωτάτους τε ἑώρα ὄντας, καὶ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὔτε χωρὶς τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἀμφοτέρων ἢ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα τι ἰσχύσει,[3] κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὁποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν προσεταιρίσηται, ἀνταγωνιστήν τε διὰ τοῦτο τὸν

[1] ὁπλαῖς R. Steph., ὁπλὰς L. [2] καίπερ Reim., καθάπερ L.
[3] ἰσχύσει Bk., ἰσχύσειε L.

it was not possible to celebrate this beforehand. B.C. 60
But being refused a triumph, since Cato opposed him with might and main, he let that pass, hoping to perform many more and greater exploits and celebrate corresponding triumphs, if elected consul. For besides the omens previously related, which always gave him great confidence, was the fact that a horse of his had been born with clefts in the hoofs of its fore feet, and carried him proudly, whereas it would not endure any other rider. Consequently his expectations were of no slight magnitude, so that he willingly gave up the triumph and entered the city to canvass for office. Here he courted Pompey and Crassus and the rest so skilfully that though they were still at enmity with each other, and had their political clubs, and though each opposed everything that he saw the other wished, he won them over and was unanimously elected by them all. And yet this argues the greatest shrewdness on his part that he should have known and arranged the occasions and the amount of his services to them so well as to attach them both to himself when they were working against each other.

He was not even content with this, but actually reconciled the men themselves, not because he was desirous that they should agree, but because he saw that they were most powerful. He understood well that without the aid of both, or at least of one, he could never come to any great power; and if he made a friend of either one of them alone, he would by that very fact have the other as his opponent and

ἕτερον ἕξει καὶ πλέον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφαλήσεται ἢ
2 ὑπὸ τοῦ συναιρομένου οἱ κατεργάσεται. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ προθυμότερον ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντιπράττειν ἢ συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἥ τε ὀργὴ καὶ τὸ μῖσος σφοδροτέρας τὰς σπουδὰς πάσης φιλίας ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου πράττων τήν τε ἡδονὴν κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλεὶς οὐχ ὁμοίας
3 ἔχουσιν· τοῦτο δὲ προχειρότερον ἐμποδίζειν τέ τινας καὶ κωλύειν μηδεμίαν αὔξησιν λαβεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ μέγα προάγειν ἐθέλειν, διά τε τἆλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐῶν τινα αὐξηθῆναι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅμα καὶ ἑαυτῷ χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ ἐξαίρων τινὰ ἐπαχθῆ αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι ποιεῖ.

56 Τούτων δὴ οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε τε[1] αὐτοὺς ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀλλήλοις κατήλλαξεν. οὔτε γὰρ δίχα τούτων δυνήσεσθαί τι ἀεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἂν θατέρῳ ποτὲ αὐτῶν προσκροῦσαι ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτ' αὖ ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κρείττους αὐτοῦ[2] γένωνται· πάνυ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον δι' ἀλλήλων κρατήσοι.
2 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως.[3] καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ὅ τε Κράσσος ὡς ἀπ' οἰκείας καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰτίας πρός τε ἀλλήλους, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὥρμησαν, κατελύσαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων
3 προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος[4] μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτὸς

[1] τε added by Rk. [2] αὑτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ L.
[3] There follows in L, τούτων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ συνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεποιήσατο, rejected by Bk. as due to a copyist.
[4] Πομπήιος Bk., ὁ πομπήιος L.

would meet with more failures through him than successes through the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more zealously against their enemies than they coöperate with their friends, not merely on the principle that anger and hatred impel more earnest endeavours than any friendship, but also because, when one man is working for himself, and a second for another, success does not involve the same degree of pleasure, or failure of pain, in the two cases. On the other hand, he reflected that it was easier to stand in people's way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great power, owing to the circumstance that he who keeps another from becoming great pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both sides. B.C. 60

These considerations led Caesar at that time to court their favour and later to reconcile them with each other. For he did not believe that without them he could ever gain any power or fail to offend one of them some time, nor did he have any fear, on the other hand, of their harmonizing their plans and so becoming stronger than he. For he understood perfectly that he would master others at once through their friendship, and a little later master them through each other. And so it came about.[1] Pompey and Crassus, the moment they really set about it, made peace with each other, for reasons of their own, and they took Caesar into partnership in their plans. For Pompey, on his side, was not

[1] There follows in the Ms. the sentence, "For these reasons, then, he both united them and won them over," probably the addition of some copyist.

ὅσον[1] ἤλπισεν ἰσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν δυνάμει ὄντα τόν τε Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον ὁρῶν, καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ παντάπασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταλυθῇ, καὶ ἐπήλπισε, προσκοινωνήσας σφίσι τῶν παρόντων, τὴν ἀρχαίαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλή-
4 ψεσθαι· Κράσσος δὲ ἠξίου τε πάντων ἀπό τε τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου περιεῖναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ ἠλαττοῦτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καταστῆσαι ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως μηδέτερός[2] σφων ὑπέρσχῃ, προσδοκήσας ἐκείνους τε ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἰσοκρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τήν τε ἑκατέρου φιλίαν ἐκκαρπώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρους τιμηθήσε-
5 σθαι. ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους οὔτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπολίτευεν, τῆς δὲ ἰδίας αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἕνεκα πάντ' ἔπραττε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπήρχετό τε ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἔχθραν ἐξέκλινεν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφοῖν σπουδάζων ἐφ' ὅσον ἤμελλε τοῦ μὲν καταθυμίου παντὸς ἑκατέροις αἰτιαθήσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων[3] μὴ μεταλήψεσθαι.

57 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς τήν τε φιλίαν συνέθεντο, καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτὴν πιστωσάμενοι τά τε κοινὰ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἀντεδίδοσάν σφισι καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων ὅσα ἔν τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὰ
2 παρόντα ἥρμοττεν αὐτοῖς πράττεσθαι.[4] συμ-

[1] αὐτὸς ὅσον Bk., αὖ τοσοῦτον L.
[2] μηδέτερός Bk., μηδὲ ἕτερος L.
[3] δυσχερεστέρων Rk., δυστυχεστέρων L.
[4] πράττεσθαι Dind., παρατάττεσθαι L.

so strong as he had hoped to be, and seeing that Crassus was in power and that Caesar's influence was growing, feared that he should be utterly overthrown by them; and he hoped that if he made them sharers in present advantages, he should win back his old authority through them. Crassus thought he ought to surpass all by reason of his family as well as his wealth; and since he was far inferior to Pompey, and thought that Caesar was going to rise to great heights, he desired to set them in opposition to each other, in order that neither of them should get the upper hand. He expected that they would be well-matched antagonists, and that in this event he would get the benefit of the friendship of both and gain honours beyond either of them. For without supporting in all respects either the cause of the populace or that of the senate he did everything to advance his own power. Accordingly he paid court to both alike and avoided enmity with either, promoting in turn whatever measures pleased either one to such an extent as was likely to give him the credit for everything that went to the liking of one or the other, without any share in more unpleasant issues. B.C. 60

Thus the three for these reasons formed their friendship and ratified it with oaths, and then managed public affairs among themselves. Next they gave to each other and received in turn one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and whatever it suited them to do in view of the circumstances.

φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ ἑταιρικά σφων ὡμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐποίουν καὶ οὗτοι μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἤθελον, ἡγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὥστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὀλίγον ἔν τε τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν
3 ἐβούλετο,[1] καταλειφθῆναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε τὰ κοινὰ πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔπραττεν· αἰσχυνόμενοι δέ τινες τοῖς δρωμένοις, καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸν ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτοντο μέν πῃ τῶν πραγμάτων καί τι τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ διεδείκνυντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς,[2] ἅτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὁρμώμενοι, ἦσαν.

58 Ἐς τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι προήγαγον, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν ἀποκρυψάμενοι. ἐποίουν μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἐδέδοκτό σφισιν, ἐσχηματίζοντο δὲ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἔτ' ἐπὶ μακρότατον διαλάθωσι, μέχρις ἂν ἱκανῶς παρα-
2 σκευάσωνται. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠγνόει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοῖς τι συνεῖναι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις εὐθὺς τότε πάντα τὰ ἔπειτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐσόμενα ἐξέφηνε· χειμών τε γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐξαίφνης τήν τε πόλιν
3 ὅλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν κατέσχεν ὥστε πάμπολλα μὲν δένδρα πρόρριζα ἀνατραπῆναι, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκίας καταρραγῆναι, τά τε πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ[3] καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχοῦντα βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν

[1] ἐβούλετο Rk., ἐβουλεύετο L.
[2] διαρκεῖς R. Steph., ἀδιαρκεῖς L.
[3] τὸ ἄστυ R. Steph., τῶι ἄστει L.

Their harmony caused an agreement also on the part of their followers; these, too, did with impunity whatever they wished, following the leadership of their chiefs in everything, so that very little moderation was longer in evidence, and that only in Cato and a few others who desired to seem to hold the same opinions as he did. For no man of that day took part in public life from pure motives and free from any desire of personal gain except Cato. Some, to be sure, were ashamed of the things done, and others who strove to imitate him took a hand in affairs now and then, and displayed some deeds similar to his; but they did not persevere, since their efforts sprang from cultivation of an attitude and not from innate virtue. B.C. 60

This was the condition into which these men brought the affairs of Rome at that time, after concealing their alliance as long as possible. For they did whatever they had decided on, while feigning and putting forward utterly opposite motives, in order that they might still remain undiscovered for a long period, until they should have made sufficient preparations. Yet Heaven was not ignorant of their doings, but then and there revealed very plainly to those who could understand any such signs all that was to result later because of them. For of a sudden such a storm descended upon the whole city and all the country that quantities of trees were torn up by the roots, many houses were shattered, the boats moored in the Tiber both near the city and at its mouth were sunk, and the wooden bridge destroyed,

4 τὴν ξυλίνην διαφθαρῆναι, καί τι καὶ θέατρον πρὸς πανήγυρίν τινα ἐκ θυρῶν[1] ᾠκοδομημένον ἀνετράπη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ οὖν καθάπερ εἰκὼν τῶν μελλόντων σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι συμβήσεσθαι προεδείχθη.

[1] θυρῶν Jacoby, σύρων L.

and a theatre built of timbers for some festival collapsed, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These signs were revealed in advance, as an image of what should befall the people both on land and on water. B.C. 60

BOOK XXXVIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς ἐστασίασαν Καῖσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος.
β. Ὡς Κικέρων ἔφυγεν.
γ. Ὡς Κικέρωνα ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ Φιλίσκος παρεμυθήσατο.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἐλουητίοις καὶ Ἀριουουίστῳ ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ
Μ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. υἱ.[1] Βίβουλος[2] ὑπ.
Λ. Καλπούρνιος[2] Λ. υἱ. Πίσων
Αὖλ. Γαβίνιος Αὔλ. υἱ. ὑπ.

Τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ σύμπαν θεραπεῦσαι πλῆθος ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σφετερίσηται. βουληθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ἀπεχθείας αὐτῷ ὦσι, πράττειν, εἶπέ σφισι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε
2 γράψοι τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει· καὶ δὴ γνώμην τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἣν παντὶ τῷ ὁμίλῳ κατένειμεν, οὕτω συνέγραψεν ὥστε μηδὲ μικρόν τι αὐτῆς αἰτιαθῆναι· καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μέντοι ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ βουλομένοις σφίσιν εἴη, ἐπλάττετο. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὖν νόμου ἕνεκα οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο· τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν
3 πολιτῶν ὑπέρογκον ὄν, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα

[1] Γ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
[2] Βίβουλος and Λ. Καλπούρνιος supplied by Palm.

BOOK XXXVIII

The following is contained in the Thirty-eighth of Dio's *Rome* :—

1. How Caesar and Bibulus quarrelled (chaps. 1–8).
2. How Cicero was exiled (chaps. 9–17).
3. How Philiscus consoled Cicero in the matter of his exile (chaps. 18–30).
4. How Caesar fought the Helvetii and Ariovistus (chaps. 31–50).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

B.C.
59 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, M. Calpurnius C. F. Bibulus.
58 L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso, A. Gabinius A. F.

The following year Caesar wished to gain the favour of the whole multitude, that he might make them his own to an even greater degree. But since he was anxious to seem to be advancing the interests also of the optimates, in order to avoid incurring their enmity, he often told them that he would propose no measure which should not also be to their advantage. And, indeed, he so framed a certain measure concerning the land, which he wished to assign to the whole populace, as not to incur the least censure for it; yet he pretended he would not introduce even this measure, unless it should be according to their wishes. So far as this law went, therefore, no one could find any fault with him. The swollen population of the city, which was chiefly responsible for the frequent rioting, would B.C. 59

ἐστασίαζον, πρός τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας
ἐτρέπετο,[1] καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἠρημω-
μένα αὖθις συνῳκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν
ταῖς στρατείαις τεταλαιπωρημένους ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας διαρκῆ τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν
μήτε τῆς πόλεως οἴκοθέν τι δαπανωμένης μήτε
τῶν δυνατῶν ζημιουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν καὶ
4 ἀρχὴν πολλῶν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ χώραν
τήν τε κοινὴν ἅπασαν πλὴν τῆς Καμπανίδος
ἔνεμε (ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐξαίρετον διὰ
τὴν ἀρετὴν συνεβούλευσεν εἶναι), καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
οὔτε παρὰ ἄκοντός τινος οὔτ' αὖ ὅσου ἂν οἱ
γεωνόμοι βουληθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παρ'
ἑκόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ τοσούτου ὅσου ἐν ταῖς ἀπο-
5 γραφαῖς ἐτετίμητο, ἀγορασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. χρή-
ματά τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπό τε τῆς λείας ἣν ὁ
Πομπήιος εἰλήφει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τῶν
τε τελῶν τῶν προσκαταστάντων περιεῖναί σφι-
σιν ἔλεγε, καὶ χρῆναι αὐτά, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν
πολιτῶν κινδύνοις πεπορισμένα, ἐς αὐτοὺς
6 ἐκείνους ἀναλωθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς γεω-
νόμους οὔτ'[2] ὀλίγους, ὥστε καὶ δυναστείᾳ τινὶ
ἐοικέναι, οὔτ' ἐξ ὑπευθύνων, ὥστε τινὰ δυσχε-
ρᾶναι, καθίστη, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συχνοὺς
τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἴκοσιν,[3] ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς
7 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, πλὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πάνυ γάρ τι
τοῦτο προδιωμολογήσατο, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἑαυτόν τι[4]
γράφειν νομισθείη· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τε εὑρήσει

[1] ἐτρέπετο Cobet, ἐτράπετο L.
[2] οὔτ' Bk., μητ' L.
[3] τοῦ συχνοὺς τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἴκοσιν Reim., τοῦ συχνοῦ τῆς τιμῆς εἴκοσιν μετασχεῖν L.
[4] τι Bk., τοι L.

thus be turned toward labour and agriculture; and the greater part of Italy, now desolate, would be colonized afresh, so that not only those who had toiled in the campaigns, but all the rest as well, would have ample subsistence. And this would be accomplished without any expense on the part of the city itself or any loss to the optimates; on the contrary, many of them would gain both rank and office. He not only wished to distribute all the public land except Campania (which he advised them to keep distinct as the property of the state, because of its excellence), but he also bade them purchase the remainder from no one who was unwilling to sell nor yet for whatever price the land commissioners might wish, but, in the first place, from people who were willing to sell, and secondly, for the same price at which it had been assessed in the tax-lists. For they had a great deal of surplus money, he asserted, as a result of the booty which Pompey had captured, as well as from the new tributes and taxes just established, and they ought, inasmuch as it had been provided by the dangers that citizens had incurred, to expend it upon those same persons. Furthermore, he proposed that the land commission should not consist of a few members only, so as to seem like an oligarchy, or of men who were under indictment, lest somebody might be displeased, but that there should be, in the first place, twenty of them, so that many might share the honour, and secondly, that they should be the most suitable men. But he excepted himself from consideration, a point on which he strenuously insisted at the outset, in order that he might not be thought to be proposing a measure in his own interest. As for himself, he B.C. 59

καὶ τῇ ἐσηγήσει τοῦ πράγματος ἠρκεῖτο, ὥς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φανερῶς ἐχαρίζετο.

2 Ἕνεκα μὲν οὖν τῶν γραφέντων ἀναίτιος ἦν, ὥστε μηδὲ[1] διᾶραι τὸ στόμα ὑπεναντίον οἱ μηδένα τολμῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ προανέγνω αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἐπηρώτησε μή τί τις αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράψειν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλείψειν, εἴ γέ τῳ μὴ ἀρέσειέ τι,
2 ὑποσχόμενος. τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαν καὶ πάνυ πάντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οἵ γε ἔξω τῆς συνωμοσίας ὄντες ἐδυσχέραινον. καὶ αὐτό γε τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλύπει, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφὼς ἦν ὥστε μήτε τινὰ[2] αἰτίαν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ
3 πάντας σφᾶς βαρύνειν· ὑπώπτευον γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧπέρ που καὶ ἐγίγνετο, τό τε πλῆθος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἕξειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ μηδείς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ[3] συνεπῄνουν. τοῖς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοις ἐξήρκει τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο[4] μὲν ἀεὶ αὐτῷ προβουλεύσειν, ἐποίουν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναβολαὶ τὴν
3 ἄλλως ἐγίγνοντο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος[5] (ἦν δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ οὐδενὶ νεοχμῷ ἀρεσκόμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ῥώμην τινὰ οὔτε ἐκ φύσεως οὔτε ἐκ παιδείας ἔχων) τοῖς μὲν γεγραμμένοις οὐδὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπεκάλει, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἠξίου τῇ τε παρούσῃ σφᾶς καταστάσει χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω αὐτῆς
2 ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ

[1] μηδὲ v. Herw., μὴ L. [2] μήτε τινὰ Bk., μηδένα L.
[3] οὔτι γε καὶ Dind., οὗτοι καὶ L.
[4] ἐπηγγέλλοντο H. Steph., ἐπηγγέλλετο L.
[5] Μᾶρκος Reim., Μᾶρκος ὁ ὕπατος L.

was satisfied with originating and proposing the matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favour to Pompey and Crassus and the rest. B.C. 59

So far as his measure went, then, he could not be censured, and, indeed, no one ventured to open his mouth in opposition; for he had read it beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name, had inquired whether he had any criticism to offer; and he promised to alter or even to strike out entirely any clause which might displease anybody. Nevertheless, practically all the optimates who were outside the league were greatly irritated; and they were grieved especially by the very fact that Caesar had drawn up such a measure as would admit of no censure, even while it embarrassed them all. For they suspected that by this measure he would attach the multitude to him and gain fame and power over all men; and this was, in fact, his very purpose. For this reason, even though no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval either. This sufficed for the majority, and while they kept promising him that they would pass the decree, they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. Marcus Cato, however, even though he had no fault to find with the measure, nevertheless urged them on general principles to abide by the existing system and to take no steps beyond it. He was a thoroughly upright man and disapproved of any innovation; yet he had no influence either as the result of natural gift or training. At this Caesar was

ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν Κάτωνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελκύσας ἐμβαλεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνός τε ἑτοιμότατα ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι[1] ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἐφέσποντο, καί τις αὐτῶν Μᾶρκος Πετρέιος ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδέπω διαφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἀπαλλάττοιτο, ἔφη ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ
3 σοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατῃδέσθη, καὶ τόν τε Κάτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπήλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως, εἴ τι μὴ ἀρέσειεν ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεχθείη· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλετε προβουλεῦσαι, ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς αἱρήσεται.

4 Κἀκ τούτου οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ταύτῃ ἐπεκοινώνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον
2 ἄντικρυς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελήσας δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς ὁμογνώμονας τῶν πρώτων τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζε μετεγνωκέναι τε αὐτοὺς καί πῃ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φοβηθήσεσθαι) ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ
3 εἰ τὰ τοῦ νόμου μέμφοιτο. ἐπεί τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ νεωτερισθῆναί τι, αὐτός τε πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπετο καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον συνδεηθῆναί οἱ ἔπεισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἕξετε τὸν νόμον ἂν οὗτος ἐθελήσῃ. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος μέγα ἀναβοήσας "οὐχ ἕξετε," ἔφη, "τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες ἐθελήσητε."

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάγη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων

[1] ἀπάγεσθαι Reim. and Xiph., ἐπάγεσθαι L.

on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senate-house and casting him into prison. But the other offered himself with the greatest readiness to be led away, and not a few of the rest followed him; and one of them, Marcus Petreius, upon being rebuked by Caesar because he was taking his departure before the senate was yet dismissed, replied: "I prefer to be with Cato in prison rather than here with you." Abashed at this reply, Caesar let Cato go and adjourned the senate, merely remarking: "I have made you judges and masters of this law, so that if anything did not suit you, it should not be brought before the people; but since you are not willing to pass a preliminary decree, they shall decide for themselves." B.C. 59

After that he communicated nothing further to the senate during his year of office, but brought directly before the people whatever he desired. However, as he wished even under these circumstances to secure some of the foremost men as supporters in the assembly, hoping that they had now changed their minds and would have some fear of the plebs, he made a beginning with his colleague and asked him if he disapproved of the provisions of the law. When the other gave him no answer beyond saying that he would tolerate no innovations during his year of office, Caesar proceeded to entreat him and persuaded the multitude to join him in his request, saying: "You shall have the law, if only he wishes it." Bibulus in a loud voice replied: "You shall not have this law this year, not even if you all wish it." And having spoken thus he took his departure.

Caesar did not address his inquiries to any other magistrates, fearing that some one of them also

οὐδένα ἔτι διήρετο, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνων τις
ἐναντιωθῇ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπήιον τόν τε Κράσσον
καίπερ ἰδιωτεύοντας παραγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε γνώμην
5 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ
ἠπίστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (σύμπαντα γὰρ
κοινῇ ἔπραττον) ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις
τιμήν, ὅτι καίτοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσιν συμ-
βούλοις περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρῷτο, προσθείη, καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους προσκαταπλήξῃ, ὁμογνώμονας τοὺς
πρώτους τε ὁμολογουμένως ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε
ὄντας καὶ μέγιστον παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους
6 λαβών, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χα-
ρίσαιτο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μήτ' ἀτόπου μήτ' ἀδίκου
τινὸς ὀρέγοιντο, ἀλλ' ὧν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δοκιμασταὶ
καὶ ἐπαινέται γίγνοιντο.
5 Ὅ τε οὖν Πομπήιος μάλα ἀσμένως "οὐκ ἐγώ,"
ἔφη, "μόνος, ὦ Κυιρῖται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκι-
μάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη βουλὴ πᾶσα, δι' ὧν οὐχ
ὅτι τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Με-
τέλλου συστρατευσαμένοις ποτὲ γῆν δοθῆναι ἐψη-
2 φίσατο. τότε μὲν οὖν (οὐ γὰρ ηὐπόρει τὸ δη-
μόσιον) εἰκότως ἡ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη· ἐν δὲ
δὴ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονε)
προσήκει καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἀποδο-
3 θῆναι." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπεξῆλθέ τε καθ' ἕκαστον
τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπήνεσεν, ὥστε
τὸν ὅμιλον ἰσχυρῶς ἡσθῆναι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν
τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπήρετο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προ-
θύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς τἀναντία σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ
τῷ πλήθει παρῄνεσε προσδεηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦτο
4 αὐτοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πομ-

might oppose him; but he brought forward Pompey and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them express their views concerning the measure. This was not because he was not acquainted with their view, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed both to honour these men, by calling them in as advisers about the law although they were holding no office, and also to frighten the others by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with all. By this very move, also, he would please the populace, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unnatural or unjust end, but for objects which those leaders were willing both to approve and to praise. B.C. 59

Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "It is not I alone, Quirites, who approve this measure, but the whole senate as well, inasmuch as it has voted for land to be given not only to my soldiers but to those also who once fought with Metellus. On the former occasion, to be sure, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it is but right that the promise made to the soldiers be fulfilled and that the rest also reap the fruit of the common toils." After this preamble he went over in detail every feature of the measure and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly assist him against those who were working in opposition, and he also urged the populace to join in asking his aid for this purpose. When they had done so, Pompey felt

πήιος, ὅτι τῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καίπερ
μηδεμίαν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ
ὁ ὅμιλος ἔχρῃζεν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀνατιμῶν τε
καὶ ἀποσεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος
εἶπεν ὅτι, ἄν τις τολμήσῃ ξίφος ἀνελέσθαι,
5 καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψομαι. ταῦθ' οὕτως
ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσος ἐπῄ-
νεσεν. ὥστ' εἰ καί τισι τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν,
. . . οι ἄλλως τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ νομιζόμενοι καὶ
πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχθρῶς, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκουν
σφίσιν, ἔχοντες (οὐ γάρ πω ἡ καταλλαγὴ αὐτῶν
ἔκδηλος ἦν) συνήνουν οἷς ἐγεγράφει, πρόθυμοι
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο.

6 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς
δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενος ἐκώλυσε
τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ
μηδεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολῆς ὑπελείπετο, ἱερο-
μηνίαν ἐς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἔτους
ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδ' ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν
2 νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγόρευσε. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ῥητήν
τινα ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἵν' ἐν αὐτῇ νομοθετήσῃ, καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατέλαβεν,
ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς
μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγόρει,
διέπεσεν, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόντων
3 οἱ, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιω-
θήσεσθαί σφισιν, ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντι-
λέγειν ἐπειρᾶτο, αὐτός τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν

elated over the fact that both the consul and the multitude had desired his help, although he was holding no position of command, and so, with an added opinion of his own worth, and assuming much dignity, he spoke at some length, finally declaring: "If any one dares to raise a sword, I also will snatch up my shield." These words of Pompey were approved by Crassus too. Consequently, even if some of the rest were not pleased, they nevertheless favoured the passage of the law [when these men,] who were not only accounted good citizens in general but were also, as they supposed, hostile to Caesar, (for their reconciliation was not yet manifest,) joined in approving his measure. B.C. 59

Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law. And when the populace had already occupied the Forum by night, Bibulus came up with the following he had got together and succeeded in forcing his way through to the temple of Castor,[1] from which Caesar was delivering his speech. The men fell back before him, partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down

[1] Literally, the temple of the Dioscuri. Officially it was called *aedes Castoris*; cf. xxxvii. 8, 2.

ἐώσθη καὶ αἱ[1] *ῥάβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν, πλη-*
γάς τε καὶ τραύματα ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι
ἔλαβον.
4 Καὶ *ὁ μὲν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη,* Βίβουλος
δὲ τότε μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐσώθη, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπεί-
ρασε μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸν λῦσαι, ἐπέρανε
δ' οὐδέν· τῇ γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους σπουδῇ δεδουλω-
5 *μένοι πάντες ἡσύχαζον. ἀνεχώρησέ τε οὖν οἴκαδε,*
καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς
τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν
τῇ οἰκίᾳ καταμένων ἀεὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, *ὁσάκις γε*
ἐνεωτέριζέ τι, ἐνετέλλετο διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅτι
ἱερομηνία τε εἴη καὶ οὐδὲν ὁσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν
6 *αὐτῇ δύναιτο δρᾶσθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ*
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Πούπλιός *τις* Οὐατίνιος[2] *δή-*
μαρχος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα καταθέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρ-
χόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ'
ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξέστη καὶ οἱ
δήμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν
δημόσιον ἔπραξαν.
7 Ὁ *δ' οὖν* Μέτελλος *ὁ* Κέλερ *ὅ τε* Κάτων, *καὶ*
Μᾶρκός *τις δι' αὐτὸν* Φαουώνιος, *ζηλωτὴς ἐς*
τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὤν, τέως μὲν οὔτ' ὤμοσαν[3]
περὶ τοῦ νόμου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρξάμενόν ποτε,
ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτόπων
ἐγίγνετο) καὶ ἀπισχυρίζοντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ Μέ-
τελλος ἐς τὸν Νουμιδικὸν *ἀναφέρων, μηδέποτε*
2 *αὐτὸν συνεπαινέσειν· ὡς μέντοι . . . ἡμέρα ᾗ*
καὶ ἔμελλον τὰ[4] *τεταγμένα ἐπιτίμια ὀφλήσειν,*

[1] *αἱ* supplied by Rk. [2] *Οὐατίνιος* Fabricius, *ἀτίνιος* L.
[3] *ὤμοσαν* Rk., *ὤμοσάν τι* L. [4] *τὰ* added by St.

the steps, his fasces were broken to pieces, and the tribunes as well as others received blows and wounds. B.C. 59

Thus the law was passed. Bibulus was for the moment satisfied to escape with his life, but on the next day tried in the senate to annul the act; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing, since all were under the spell of the multitude's enthusiasm and would do nothing. Accordingly he retired to his home and did not appear in public again at all up to the last day of the year. Instead, he remained in his house, and whenever Caesar proposed any innovation, he sent formal notice to him through his attendants that it was a sacred period and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it. Publius Vatinius, a tribune, undertook to place Bibulus in prison for this, but was prevented from doing so by the opposition of his colleagues. Bibulus, however, held aloof from all business of state in the manner related, and the tribunes belonging to his party likewise no longer performed any public duty.

Now Metellus Celer and Cato, and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in everything, for a time did not take the oath of obedience to the law (a custom which began, as I have stated, on an earlier occasion, and was then continued in the case of other preposterous measures) and stoutly refused to approve it, Metellus, for instance, referring to Numidicus as an example.[1] When, however, the day [came] on which they were to incur the

[1] Apparently a reference to the year B.C. 100, and to the refusal of Metellus Numidicus to swear to the *lex Apuleia.*

ὤμοσαν, ἤτοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὑφ' οὗ πολλοὶ ὑπισχνοῦνταί τέ τι καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι ῥᾷον ἢ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεξίασιν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι μάτην ζημιωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης
3 σφῶν τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελήσαντες.[1] ὅ τε οὖν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῆ τοῖς τρία τε πλείω τε ἔτι τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἐδόθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄποικος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ Καπύη τότε πρῶτον ἐνομίσθη.

4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρτήσατο, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας τὸ τριτημόριόν[2] σφισι τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐμεμίσθωντο[3] ἀφείς· πᾶσαί τε γὰρ αἱ[4] τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις τῆς βουλῆς δεηθέντες ὅπως ἐκδικίας τινὸς τύχωσιν οὐχ εὕροντο, ἄλλων τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος
5 ἀντιπραξάντων. ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος μηδ' ἀντειπόντος τινὸς ᾠκειώσατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα[5] ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μήτε τοῦ Λουκούλλου μήτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἀντιστάντος, ἐβεβαίωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διενομοθέ-
6 τησε μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ Κάτων ἀντεῖπέ τι, καίπερ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ὡς καὶ Ἰουλίων ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμνησθείς· τὰ γὰρ δικαστήρια κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκληρῶν[6] τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο.

Τούτους μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πάμπολλοί τέ εἰσι καὶ

[1] ὠφελήσαντες Bk., ὠφεληθήσεσθαι L.
[2] τριτημόριόν R. Steph., τριτημέριον L.
[3] ἐμεμίσθωντο Leuncl., ἐμεμίσθωτο L. [4] αἱ Bk., αὖ L.
[5] πραχθέντα Xyl., προσταχθέντα L.
[6] ἀποκληρῶν Bk., ἀπεκλήρουν L.

established penalties, they took the oath, perhaps because it is but human nature for many persons to utter promises and threats more easily than they actually carry them out, or else because they were going to be punished to no purpose, without helping the state at all by their obstinacy. So the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony. B.C. 59

By this means Caesar attached the plebs to his cause; and he won over the knights by releasing them from a third part of the taxes for which they had contracted.[1] For all collecting of taxes was done by them, and though they had often asked the senate for some satisfaction, they had not obtained it, because Cato, among others, had opposed it. When, then, he had conciliated this class also without any one's protest, he first ratified all the acts of Pompey, meeting with no opposition either from Lucullus or any one else, and later he put through many other measures without encountering any resistance. Even Cato did not object, although during his praetorship a little later, he would never mention the title of the other's laws, since they were called Julian laws; for although he followed their provisions in allotting the courts, he most absurdly suppressed their name.

As these laws, now, are very numerous and con-

[1] Compare the similar statement in Appian *B.C.* ii, 13.

οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ συμβάλλονται,
8 παραλείψω· Κύιντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλῆνος ἀναμὶξ πάντων τὰς ψήφους ἔν γε[1] ταῖς φιλονεικίαις (τά τε κρείττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἑκάστου τῶν γενῶν ἄγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα[2] ἐς ἑτέρους ἀπωθοῦντος) οὔσας εὑρών, ἐνομοθέτησε στρατηγῶν χωρὶς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι, ἵν' εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τά γε ἔθνη[3] αὐτῶν ἔκδηλα ὅπως φρονοίη γίγνοιτο.[4]

2 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέταττε πάντα καθάπαξ τὰν τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ μόνος αὐτῆς ἄρχων· ὅθενπερ χαριεντιζόμενοί τινες τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βιβούλου ὄνομα παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δὶς[5] καὶ ὠνόμαζον καὶ ἔγραφον, Γάιόν τε Καίσαρα
3 καὶ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες· τὰ δὲ δὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν δι' ἑτέρων διῆγε. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάξατο, μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾷον πάνθ' ὅσων ἐπεθύμει κατειργάσατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς παρ-
4 οῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐσκήπτετο· ἕτεροι δέ, ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαίου καὶ χρησίμου τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἐσηγήσαντο ὅσα ἠθέλησε καὶ κυρωθῆναι ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνον ἀλλὰ
5 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. ὅ τε γὰρ ὅμιλος τοῦ τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ἄρξαι αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων

[1] γε Rk., τε L. [2] ἀτοπώτερα R. Steph., ἀπώτερα L.
[3] ἔθνη Leuncl., ἤθη L. [4] γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιντο L.
[5] δὶς Rk., δύο L.

tribute nothing to this history, I will omit them; but one other I will mention. Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the votes of all were hopelessly confused, at least in party contests, since each of the orders[1] attributed the good measures to itself and referred the preposterous ones to the others, proposed a law while praetor that each order should cast its vote separately. His purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of their taking this vote secretly, yet it might become clear how the orders, at least, felt. B.C. 59

In most matters Caesar himself proposed, advised, and arranged everything in the city once for all as if he were its sole ruler; hence some facetious persons totally suppressed the name of Bibulus, and in speaking or writing would name Caesar twice, stating that the consuls were Gaius Caesar and Julius Caesar. But matters that concerned himself he managed through others, for he was extremely careful to offer nothing to himself; and thus he the more easily accomplished everything that he desired. On his own part, he would declare that he needed nothing more, and claimed to be thoroughly satisfied with what he had; but others, believing him a necessary and useful factor in affairs, proposed whatever he wished and had it passed, not only by the populace but by the senate itself. Thus it was that the multitude granted him the government of Illyricum and of Cisalpine Gaul with three legions for five years,

[1] The reference is to the three orders of which the juries were composed—senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*.

ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε ἔδωκε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τήν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ στρατόπεδον ἕτερον προσεπέτρεψε.

9 Φοβηθεὶς δ᾽ οὖν καὶ ὣς μή τι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Γαβίνιος ὁ Αὖλος ὑπατεύσειν ἔμελλε, νεωτερίσῃ, ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον Λούκιον Πίσωνα συγγενείας[1] ἀνάγκῃ προσηταιρίσατο· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τὴν θυγατέρα καίπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἠγγυηκὼς συνῴ-
2 κισε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ Πίσωνος ἔγημε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἐκρατύνθη, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Λούκουλλος οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτεῖναι τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον διὰ Λουκίου τινὸς Οὐεττίου ἐπεχείρησαν μέν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν δέ, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπώλοντο. προμηνυθεὶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ συλληφθεὶς πρίν τι δρᾶσαι,
3 κατεῖπεν αὐτῶν· καὶ εἴγε μὴ καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύοντά σφισιν ἐσηγγέλκει, πάντως ἄν τι δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθεσαν· νῦν δέ, ὅτι τοῦτον τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὸ πραττόμενον δηλώσαντα ἀμυνόμενος ᾐτιᾶτο, ὑπωπτεύθη μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀληθεύειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τινος πρὸς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σφων
4 παρεσκευάσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλοι ἄλλα διεθρύλουν· οὐ γάρ που καὶ διηλέγχθη τι, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Οὐέττιος ἐσαχθείς, καὶ μόνους οὓς εἶπον ὀνομάσας, ἔς τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε, κἀνταῦθα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐδολοφονήθη·

10 ὕποπτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ γενόμενος ἐβεβαιώσατο τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογίᾳ.

[1] συγγενείας Rk., συγγενεῖς L.

while the senate entrusted him in addition with Transalpine Gaul and another legion. B.C. 59

But fearing even then that Pompey might make some change during his absence, inasmuch as Aulus Gabinius was to be consul, he attached to himself both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by ties of kinship: upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, while he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he strengthened himself on all sides. Cicero and Lucullus, however, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the help of a certain Lucius Vettius; but they failed of their attempt and all but lost their own lives as well. For Vettius, upon being exposed and arrested before he had accomplished anything, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, it would certainly have gone hard with them. But as it was, owing to the fact that in his defence he accused this man who had revealed the plan to Pompey, it was suspected that he was not speaking the truth in the case of the others either, but had been prompted in the matter as the result of a plot of the other side to calumniate their opponents. Concerning these matters various reports were current, since nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace, and after naming only those whom I have mentioned, was thrown into prison, where he was treacherously murdered a little later. In consequence of this affair, Cicero became suspected by Caesar and Pompey, and he confirmed their suspicion in his defence of Antonius.

Οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον
τὸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἄρξας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔνσπον-
2 δον[1] εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τά τε
γὰρ τῶν Δαρδάνων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων
σφίσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς
ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-
πέων ὑποχωρήσας ἔφυγεν, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πεζοὺς
ἐκεῖνοι περισχόντες ἔκ τε τῆς χώρας βιαίως ἐξή-
3 λασαν καὶ τὴν λείαν προσαφείλοντο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ[2]
ποιήσας ἡττήθη πρὸς[3] τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει
πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρνῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάν-
των αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τοις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐγράφη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
Κατιλίνου συνωμοσίᾳ, ἑάλω δὲ δι' ἐκεῖνα, καὶ
συνέβη αὐτῷ, ὧν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἐλεγχθῆναι, ὧν
4 δ' οὐκ ᾐτιάζετο, κολασθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως
ἀπήλλαξεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἅτε
καὶ συνάρξαντός[4] οἱ, ὑπερδικῶν, πλείστην κατὰ
τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ αἰτίου τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ
γεγενημένου καταδρομὴν ἐποιήσατο, καί τινα
αὐτὸν καὶ προσελοιδόρησεν.

11 Ὁ δ' ἤχθετο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν,
οὐ μὴν οὔτ' εἶπεν οὔτ' ἔπραξεν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς
αὐτὸν οὐδέν, καίπερ ὑπατεύων. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς
ἔλεγε συχνὰ καὶ μάταια ἐξεπίτηδες ἐς τοὺς κρείτ-
τονάς σφων ἐς φιλονεικίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας[5] . . .,
ἵν' ἴσοι σφίσι καὶ ὅμοιοι, ἄν γέ τι ὁμοιότροπον

[1] ἔνσπονδον Oddey, ἔκσπονδον L.
[2] Μυσίᾳ R. Steph., μουσίαι L.
[3] πρὸς added by Leuncl.
[4] συνάρξαντος Rk., συνάρχοντος L.
[5] ὑπάγοντας Bk., ὑπαγαγόντας L.

The latter, while governor of Macedonia, had inflicted many injuries upon the subject territory as well as upon that which was in alliance with Rome, and had suffered many disasters in return. For after ravaging the possessions of the Dardanians and their neighbours, he did not dare to await their attack, but pretending to retire with his cavalry for some other purpose, took to flight; in this way the enemy surrounded his infantry and forcibly drove them out of the country, even taking away their plunder from them. When he tried the same tactics on the allies in Moesia, he was defeated near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnian Scythians who came to their aid; and thereupon he ran away. It was not for this conduct, however, that he was accused, but he was indicted for complicity in Catiline's conspiracy; yet he was convicted on the former charge, so that it was his fate to be found not guilty of the crime for which he was being tried, but to be punished for something of which he was not accused. That was the way he came off. But Cicero, who defended him at this time because Antonius had been his colleague, made a most bitter attack upon Caesar, whom he held responsible for the suit against him, and even went so far as to heap abuse upon him. B.C. 59

Caesar was naturally indignant at this, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the multitude often purposely [cast] many idle [slurs] upon their superiors, in the effort to draw them into strife, so that they might seem to be their equals and of like importance with them, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves; and he

ἀντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν εἶναι· καὶ οὐκ ἠξίου ἀν-
2 τίπαλον ἐκ τούτου οὐδένα ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς τι προπηλακίζουσιν
αὐτὸν οὕτω προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα
ὁρῶν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τι τοσοῦτον λοιδορήσασθαι
ἐθέλοντα ὅσον ἀντακοῦσαί τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὥστε
καὶ παρισωθῆναί οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχύ τε
αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδὲν ὧν ἔλεγε προσεποιή-
σατο, ἀλλ' εἴα αὐτὸν ἀφθόνως, καθάπερ τισὶν
3 ἐπαίνοις ἑαυτοῦ, ταῖς λοιδορίαις χρῆσθαι. οὐ
μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ὀλιγώρως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν.
ἐπιεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως φύσιν εἰλήχει, καὶ
οὐ πάνυ ῥᾳδίως ἐθυμοῦτο· συχνοὺς δ' οὖν, ἅτε καὶ
ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασιν, ἐδικαίου, οὐ μὴν ὥστε
καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντως αὐτὸ
4 ποιεῖν. θυμῷ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐχαρίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ
καιροῦ διεσκόπει, καὶ τούς γε πλείους οὐδὲ
αἰσθανομένους μετῄει. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως δόξειεν
ἀμύνεσθαί τινας ἔπρασσεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι ἀνεπι-
φθονώτατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ πάντα
διοικήσειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀδήλως, καὶ ἐν οἷς
5 ἥκιστα ἄν τις προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπῆγε,
τῆς τε φήμης ἕνεκα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίλως ἔχειν,
καὶ τοῦ μή τινα προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι
ἢ καὶ προποιῆσαί τι δεινὸν αὐτόν, πρὶν παθεῖν,
ἐπιχειρῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων μᾶλλόν
τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν[1] ἢ ἵνα τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθείη.[2]
6 κἀκ τούτου πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ τῶν μεγάλα αὐτὸν
λυπησάντων συνεγίγνωσκεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ

[1] ἔμελεν R. Steph., ἔμελλεν L.
[2] τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθείη Rk., καὶ λυθείη L.

did not see fit to make anybody his rival in this B.C. 59
manner. This, then, was his attitude toward others who insulted him in any way, and so now, when he saw that Cicero was not so anxious to abuse him as to receive similar abuse in return, so that he might be placed on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, ignoring all he said; indeed, he allowed him to indulge in abuse without stint, as if it were so much praise showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. For, although Caesar possessed in reality a rather mild nature, and was not at all easily moved to anger, he nevertheless punished many, since his interests were so numerous, yet in such wise that it was not done in anger nor always immediately. He did not indulge in wrath at all, but watched for his opportunity, and his vengeance pursued the majority of his foes without their knowing it. For he did not act in such a way as to seem to be defending himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while arousing the least hatred. Therefore he visited his retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, both for the sake of his reputation, in order to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and also to the end that no one should learn of it beforehand and so be on his guard, or try to inflict some serious injury upon him before being injured. For he was not so much concerned about what had already occurred as he was to prevent future attacks. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had vexed him greatly, or pursue them only to a limited extent, because he believed they would do

ἐπεξήει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι κακουργήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπίστευε· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐτιμωρεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν . . . οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀγένητον . . . τῆς κολάσεως ὑπερβολῇ πάντως τι δεινὸν πείσεται.

12 Ἐξ οὖν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κλώδιον ἀντιχαρίσασθαί τι αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ κατηγόρησε, βουλόμενον αἰσθόμενος παρεσκεύασε

2 κρύφα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα αὖθις αὐτόν, ὅπως νομίμως ἐκποιηθῇ, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ δήμαρχον εὐθὺς

3 ἀποδειχθῆναι διεπράξατο. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπεστόμισε μὲν καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ἐσελθόντα τε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ διανοούμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὅρκου πιστώσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων δημηγορῆσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ

4 Κικέρωνι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδόκει οἱ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι ἄνδρα πάμπολυ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα δυνάμενον καταλῦσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείωσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς, παρ' οἷσπέρ που καὶ ὁ Κικέρων πλεῖστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, ἂν τούτους σφετερίσηται, ῥᾳδίως αὐτόν, ἅτε καὶ διὰ φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' εὔνοιαν ἰσχύοντα, καθαι-

5 ρήσειν. παμπληθεῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον οἵ τι ὠφελούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ᾠκειοῦντο ἐς ὅσον οἱ βλαπτόμενοι ἠλλοτριοῦντο. πρὸς γάρ τοι τῷ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ τῶν ἀμεινόνων χάριν τισὶν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν

no further injury; whereas upon many others he took vengeance, even beyond what was fitting, with an eye to his own safety. What was once done, he said, [he could] never [make] undone [by any penalty], but because of the severity of the punishment he would for the future at least suffer no harm. B.C. 59

In view of these considerations he was inclined to do nothing on this occasion also; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favour in return for the fact that he had not accused him of adultery, he set this man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's coöperation to the plebeian status once more, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, silenced Bibulus, when at the expiration of his office he entered the Forum and intended in connexion with taking the oath to deliver a speech about the existing state of affairs; and he attacked Cicero also. But since he decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who had very great influence in the state by reason of his skill in speaking, he proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate, by whom Cicero was held in the highest regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. For Cicero annoyed great numbers by his speeches, and those whom he aided were not so thoroughly won to his side as those whom he injured were alienated; for most men are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one

συναγορεύσασί σφισιν ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μισθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ' ἀντιδικήσαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρό-
6 *πον τινὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἑαυτῷ ἐποίει*[1] *περιεῖναί τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων ἀεί ποτε ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, ἅτε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνεῖναί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν,*
7 *θηρώμενος. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ διότι μέγιστόν τε ἀνθρώπων ηὔχει καὶ οὐδένα ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ ἔν τε τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ἰσοδίαιτος οὐδενὶ ἠξίου εἶναι, φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ἦν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἷς ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο.*

13 Ὁ *οὖν* Κλώδιος *ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα, ἂν τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τόν τε ὅμιλον προπαρασκευάσηται, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι,*[2] *τόν τε σῖτον προῖκα εὐθὺς*[3] *διένειμε (τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε* Γαβινίου *ἤδη καὶ τοῦ*
2 Πίσωνος *ὑπατευόντων, ἐσηγήσατο) καὶ τὰ ἑταιρικά, κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὄντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά, ἀνενεώσατο· τοῖς τε τιμηταῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μήτ' ἀπαλείφειν ἔκ τινος τέλους μήτ' ἀτιμάζειν μηδένα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κριθεὶς ἁλοίη.*

3 Τούτοις *οὖν αὐτοὺς δελεάσας καὶ ἕτερόν τινα νόμον ἔγραψε, περὶ οὗ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναγκαῖόν*

[1] *ἐποίει* Reim., *ἐσεποίει* L.
[2] *κατεργάσεσθαι* Dind., *κατεργάσασθαι* L.
[3] *εὐθὺς* Bs., *αὖθις* L.

for kindnesses, and they think that they have paid their advocates in full with their fee, while their chief concern is to get even with their opponents in some way or other. Cicero, moreover, made for himself very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the most powerful men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech toward all alike; for he was in pursuit of a reputation for sagacity and eloquence such as no one else possessed, even in preference to being thought a good citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and regarded no one as equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down upon everybody and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both disliked and hated even by those very persons whom he otherwise pleased. B.C. 59

Clodius, therefore, hoped on this account that if he should first win over the senate and the knights and the populace he could quickly crush him. So he straightway went to distributing free corn; for when Gabinius and Piso had now become consuls, he had introduced his motion that it should be doled out to the needy; and he revived the associations called *collegia* in the native language, which had existed of old but had been abolished for some time. He also forbade the censors to remove anybody from any order or to censure any one, except as he should be tried and convicted before them both. B.C. 58

After offering them this lure he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at

ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γένηται. τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἔκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κῦρος ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ
4 ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἢ ἐπέτρεπε πραχθῆναί τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἔτι καθ' ἕκαστον οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκώλυε, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψηφίσεις πάντως ἐπῖσχεν,[1] καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ διοσημία, εἴτε ἐναίσιον εἴτε
5 ἐξαίσιον ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον τῆς νομίσεως ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζειν ἢ νόμων ἐσφορὰς ἢ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεις ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγομένας βουλόμενοι προεπήγγελλον ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευσόμενοι, ὥστε μηδεμίαν
6 ἐν αὐτῇ κύρωσιν τὸν δῆμον σχεῖν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος μὴ γραψαμένου αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολήν τέ τινες ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τριβὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἐμποιήσωσιν, ἐσήνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς ψηφίσασθαί τι τὸν δῆμον ἀναγκαῖον εἴη, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γιγνόμενα παρατηρεῖν.

14 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέγραψε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος, συνεὶς τὸ γιγνόμενον, Λούκιον Νίννιον Κουαδρᾶτον δημαρχοῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσί σφισιν ἀντιπαρεσκεύασεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ

[1] ἐπῖσχεν Bk., ἐπισχεῖν L.

some length, so that it may become clearer to the general public. Public divination was obtained from the sky and from certain other sources, as I have said, but that of the sky had the greatest authority —so much so, in fact, that while the other auguries were many in number and were taken for each action, this one was taken but once and for the whole day. This was the most peculiar feature about it; but there was the further difference that whereas in reference to all other matters sky-divination either allowed things to be done, in which case they were carried out without consulting any individual augury further, or else would prevent and hinder something, yet it stopped the voting of the people altogether, serving always as a portent to check them, whether it was of a favourable or unfavourable nature. The cause of this custom I am unable to state, but I set down the common report. Accordingly, many persons who wished to obstruct either the proposal of laws or the appointment of magistrates that came before the popular assembly were in the habit of announcing that they would look for omens from the sky that day, so that during it the people would have no power to pass any measure. Clodius, now, was afraid that if he indicted Cicero some might adopt this means to secure the postponement or delay of the trial; and so he introduced a measure that none of the magistrates should observe the signs from heaven on the days when it was necessary for the people to vote on anything. B.C. 58

Such were the measures which he then drew up with reference to Cicero. The latter understood what was afoot and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose every move; so

θόρυβος ἐκ τούτου καὶ διατριβή τις γένηται, καὶ
2 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀπατήσας. προδιομολογησάμενος
γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν, ἂν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετου-
μένων ἐμποδίσῃ, κατ' αὐτοῦ γράψειν, ἔπειτα τὴν
ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ Νιννίου ἄγοντος
διενομοθέτησεν αὐτά, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ
3 Κικέρωνι ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι
φρονιμώτατος ἀξιῶν εἶναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου,
εἴ γε ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τούς τε
ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεῖ λέγειν,
4 ἠπατήθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλώ-
διος ἐσήνεγκεν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ
τίθεσθαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀλλὰ
κατὰ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν πολίτην [1] τινὰ ἄνευ τῆς
τοῦ δήμου καταγνώσεως ἀποκτενούντων ἢ καὶ
ἀπεκτονότων ἐσήγετο),[2] ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι
5 μάλιστα συνεγράφετο. ἔφερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ
πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τὴν φυ-
λακὴν τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἧσπερ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά
σφισι ποιεῖν ἐξὸν ἐγίγνετο, προσετετάχει, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
6 τῶν τότε θανατωθέντων κατεψήφιστο· οὐ μέντοι
ἀλλ' ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγγέλκει περὶ
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγητο [3] ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπεψηφίκει καὶ τέλος
καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφῶν διά γε τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
ὑπηρετούντων ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνος ἢ
7 καὶ μάλιστα ἔσχε.[4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα
ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ ἀντέπρασσε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν
ἐσθῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι περιενόστει,
πάντας τε τούς τι δυναμένους, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν

[1] πολίτην Rk., πολιτῶν L. [2] ἐσήγετο Bk., συνεσήγετο L.
[3] ἐσήγητο Rk., ἐσηγεῖτο L. [4] ἔσχε R. Steph., ἔοικε L.

Clodius, fearing that some disturbance and delay B.C. 58
might arise as a result, outwitted him by deceit. He first made an agreement with Cicero to bring no indictment against him, if the other would not interfere with any of the measures he proposed; thereupon, while Cicero and Ninnius remained quiet, he secured the passage of the laws, and then made his attack upon the orator. And thus the latter, who thought himself extremely shrewd, was deceived on that occasion by Clodius—if, indeed, it is proper to speak here of Clodius and not rather of Caesar and the others who were in league with the two. Now the law that Clodius next proposed was not on its face enacted against Cicero, since it did not contain his name, but was directed against all, without exception, who should put to death or even had put to death any citizen without the condemnation of the people; yet in reality it was drawn up with especial reference to the orator. It brought within its scope, indeed, the entire senate, because that body had charged the consuls with the protection of the city, by which act it was permitted them to take such steps, and afterwards had condemned Lentulus and the others who were put to death at that time. Nevertheless, Cicero received the whole blame, or at least the greater part of it, since he had laid information against the men and had on each occasion made the motion and put the vote and finally had exacted the penalty of them through those entrusted with such business. For this reason he vigorously opposed Clodius' measure in every way; in particular, he discarded his senatorial dress and went about in the garb of the knights, paying court meanwhile, as he went the rounds,

ἐπιτηδείων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ
μάλιστα τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἅτε
μηδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιούμενον, καὶ
ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὁμοίως περιιὼν ἐθεράπευε.[1]
15 Καὶ ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μήτε τὸν Κλώ-
διον αὐτοὶ παρεσκευακέναι μήτε τοῖς γεγραμ-
μένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιάνδε τινὰ
ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπάτην, σφίσι μὲν εὐπρεπῆ
2 ἐκείνῳ δὲ δὴ ἀφανῆ, προσεξεῦρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
Καῖσαρ ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, μὴ καὶ κατὰ
χώραν μείνας ἀπόληται· καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ μᾶλλον
ὑπ' εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν πιστευθῇ, ὑποστρατήγῳ
οἱ χρήσεσθαι ὑπισχνεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ μετ' ὀνείδους
ὡς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ὤν, ἀλλὰ ἐπί τε ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ
3 τιμῆς ἐκποδὼν δὴ τῷ Κλωδίῳ γένηται. ὁ δὲ δὴ
Πομπήιος τούτου μὲν αὐτόν, τό τε πρᾶγμα ἀπό-
δρασιν ἄντικρυς ὀνομάζων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα
ὥστε καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως οἱ συμβου-
λεύοντα ὑποσημαίνων, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου
καταμεῖναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τε ἅμα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ μετὰ
παρρησίας βοηθῆσαι, τόν τε Κλώδιον εὐθὺς ἀμύ-
4 νασθαι· οὔτε γὰρ διαπράξασθαί τι αὐτὸν παρόντος
τε ἐκείνου καὶ ἐναντιουμένου δυνήσεσθαι ἔλεγε,
καὶ προσέτι καὶ δίκην[2] δώσειν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι
πρὸς τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. τοιούτους αὐτῶν[3]
λόγους λεγόντων οὐχ ὅτι ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐγί-
γνωσκον ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκεῖνον ἀνυπόπτως ἀπατήσωσι,
5 τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσέθετο. οὔτε γὰρ προϋπώπτευέ
τι ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπίστευε πάντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθή-
σεσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ᾐδοῦντο

[1] ἐθεράπευε H. Steph., ἐθεράπευσε L.
[2] δίκην supplied by Oddey. [3] αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶι L.

day and night alike, to all who had any influence, B.C. 58 not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and even Caesar, inasmuch as the latter concealed his enmity toward him.

Now these men, indeed, did not wish to appear to have instigated Clodius themselves, or even to be pleased with his measures, and so they devised the following plan, involving no discredit to themselves but obscure to Cicero, for deceiving him. Caesar, for his part, advised him to yield, for fear he might lose his life if he remained in the city; and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good-will, he promised to employ him as his lieutenant, so that he might retire out of Clodius' way, not in disgrace, as if under investigation, but in a position of command and with honour. Pompey, however, tried to turn him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; as for himself, he advised him to remain and boldly defend both himself and the senate and thus avenge himself at once upon Clodius. The latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with Cicero present and confronting him, and would furthermore meet his deserts, since he, Pompey, would also coöperate to this end. Now when these two expressed themselves thus, not because their views were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving their victim without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was absolutely confident of being saved by his assistance. For in the first place, many respected and

αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ'
6 *αὐτῶν τῶν κατηγόρων ῥυόμενον·*[1] *καὶ ὁ* Κλώδιος, *ἅτε καὶ ἐν γένει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει ποιήσειν. τόν τε* Γαβίνιον *ἄντικρυς, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν* Πίσωνα *ἀπό τε τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ* Καίσαρος *συγγένειαν ὑπάρξειν οἱ προσεδόκησε.*
16 *τούτοις τε οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσειν ἐλπίσας (καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγον ὥσπερ ἀνεξετάστως ἐδεδίει), καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐκ πονηροῦ συνειδότος τὴν ἀποδημίαν πεποιῆσθαι δόξῃ, τῷ μὲν* Καίσαρι *χάριν δή τινα ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ* Πομπηίῳ *ἐπείσθη.*

2 Καὶ *ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροίσων. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἵ τε ἱππῆς συνελθόντες ἐς τὸ* Καπιτώλιον *πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρός τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ*
3 *σφῶν καὶ βουλευτὰς τόν τε* Ὁρτήσιον *τὸν* Κύιντον *καὶ* Γάιον Κουρίωνα, *ἔπεμψαν· καὶ ὁ* Νίννιος *τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνήρετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῷ πλήθει ὡς καὶ ἐπί τινι κοινῇ συμφορᾷ μεταβαλεῖν*[2] *παρῄνεσε. καὶ πολλοὶ*[3] *τοῦτο καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν,*[4] *καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε μετεβάλοντο*[5] *πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προγραφῆς ἐπιτιμῆσαι.*

4 Ἀλλ' *ἦν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ*

[1] *ῥυόμενον* Cary, *ῥύεσθαι* L. [2] *μεταβαλεῖν* Bk., *μεταβάλλειν* L.
[3] *πολλοὶ* R. Steph., *πολὺ* L. [4] *ἐποίησαν* supplied by Xyl.
[5] *μετεβάλοντο* Bk., *μετεβάλλοντο* L.

honoured him as one who saved numerous persons in grave peril, some from the judges and others from their very accusers; and Clodius, in particular, had formerly been a relative of Pompey's and had long served under him, so that it seemed likely that he would do nothing that failed to accord with his wishes. As for Gabinius, Cicero supposed he could count on him absolutely as an adherent, since he was a good friend of his, and equally on Piso, because of his amiability as well as his kinship with Caesar. On the basis of these calculations, then, he hoped to win, since he was now unreasonably confident, even as he had before been unduly terrified; and fearing that his withdrawal from the city would seem to have been occasioned by a bad conscience, he listened to Pompey, though he said that he was considerably obliged to Caesar. B.C. 58

And thus Cicero, deceived in this wise, was preparing as if for a great victory over his enemies. For, in addition to the grounds for hope already mentioned, the knights assembled on the Capitol and sent envoys in his behalf to the consuls and senate, some from their own number, and also the senators Quintus Hortensius and Gaius Curio. Ninnius, too, in addition to his assistance in other ways urged the populace to change their apparel, as if for a general calamity. And many of the senators also did this, and would not change back until the consuls rebuked them by an edict.

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful,

δυνατώτερα, οὔτε ὁ Κλώδιος χρηματίσασθαί τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Νιννίῳ[1] ἐπέτρεψεν, οὔτε Γαβίνιος τὴν πρόσοδον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὡς πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως[2] ἐξήλασε, τῷ τε Ὁρτησίῳ καὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι, ὅτι καὶ ἀθροισθεῖσί σφισι συνεγένοντο
5 καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπέστησαν, ἐπεκάλει. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλώδιος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσαγαγὼν πληγαῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ διά τινων προπαρεσκευασμένων συνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅ τε Πίσων, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς τῷ Κικέρωνι δοκῶν ἔχειν, καὶ συμβουλεύσας γε αὐτῷ, ὡς ἑώρα ἀδύνατον ὂν ἄλλως αὐτὸν σωθῆναι, προϋπεξέχειν, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ
6 τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὠργίσθη, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἠδυνήθη (τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἠρρώστει), καὶ πυθομένου[3] τοῦ Κλωδίου τίνα γνώμην περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔχοι, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδέν μοι οὔτ' ὠμὸν[4] οὔτε[5] σκυθρωπὸν ἔργον ἀρέσκει· καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐρωτηθεὶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπῄνεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν.

17 Ὁ μέντοι Καῖσαρ (ἔξω γὰρ τοῦ τείχους ὁ Κλώδιος δι' αὐτόν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξεστράτευτο, τὸν ὅμιλον συναγαγὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιγνώμονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐποιήσατο) τὴν μὲν[6] παρανομίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λέντουλον πραχθέντων κατεψη-
2 φίσατο, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφομένην οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ περὶ

[1] τῷ Νιννίῳ Leuncl., τοῦ νιννίου L.
[2] πόλεως Cobet, πολιτείας L.
[3] πυθομένου Xyl., πυθόμενος L.
[4] οὔτ' ὠμὸν Victorius, οὕτω μόνον L.
[5] οὔτε St., οὐδὲ L. [6] μὲν St., μὲν γὰρ L.

however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city, and rebuked Hortensius and Curio for having been present in the assembly of the knights and for having undertaken the mission. Moreover, Clodius brought them before the populace, where they were soundly belaboured for their mission by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well-disposed towards Cicero and had advised him, on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by any other means, to slip away in time, nevertheless, when the other took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity (he was too ill most of the time) and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: "No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me." Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only failed to praise Cicero but even accused both the knights and the senate. B.C. 58

Caesar, however, who had already taken the field, and whom Clodius could therefore make arbiter of the measure only by assembling the populace outside the walls, condemned the illegality of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind con-

τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐφρόνησε, πάντας εἰδέναι ἔφη
(τὴν γὰρ σώζουσάν σφας ψῆφον δεδωκὼς ἦν), οὐ
μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι τοιοῦτόν
3 τινα νόμον συγγράφεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν ταῦτ'
εἶπε, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ υἱέος βοήθειάν τινα
τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλή-
θους ἔπρασσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν
αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, σκήψεις δέ τινας ἄλλοτε
ἄλλας ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συχνὰς ἐπίτηδες
στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπήμυνε.
4 Ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὖθις
ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὅπλα ἄρασθαι (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φανερῶς προεπηλάκιζε), κωλυ-
θεὶς δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὁρτησίου,
μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε
δὴ καὶ ἄκων μετά τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακο-
δοξίας, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐθελοντὴς
5 πεφευγώς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμῆσαι, ἔς τε
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι Ἀθηνᾶς
ἀνέθηκε, Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξῆλθε
δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν· προστάτης τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγεγό-
νει, καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν ἔν τε τοῖς δήμοις καὶ ἐν
τοῖς ἰδιώταις τῷ τε ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν εἶχε τιμηθή-
6 σεσθαι. φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κῦρος,
οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἵπερ
τὰ[1] τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρώτους πράττειν ἐδόκουν,
ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει, ἔλαβε· καὶ ἥ
τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἐδημεύθη, καὶ ἡ οἰκία ὥσπερ τινὸς
πολεμίου κατεσκάφη, τό τε ἔδαφος αὐτῆς ἐς νεὼν
7 Ἐλευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ ἥ τε φυγὴ

[1] οἵπερ τὰ Bs., ὃ ὑπὲρ L.

cerning the events of that time, as he had cast his vote in favour of sparing their lives, but it was not fitting for any such law to be drawn up with regard to events now past. This was Caesar's advice. Crassus showed some favour to Cicero through his son, but himself took the side of the multitude. Pompey kept promising him assistance, but by making various excuses at different times and purposely arranging many journeys out of town, failed to defend him. B.C. 58

Cicero, perceiving this, became afraid and again undertook to resort to arms, among other things even abusing Pompey openly; but he was stopped by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last he departed, against his will, and with the shame and ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken. But before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom he styled "Protectress." And he set out secretly for Sicily; for he had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he should be honoured among its towns and private citizens and by their governor. On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons, among others, who had seemed to be the most active workers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its site was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Against Cicero himself a decree of exile

ἐπετιμήθη καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη· τρισχιλίους τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ προσεπεκηρύχθη ἵν' εἰ δή ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τοῦτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὀδυρόμενος· ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Φιλίσκος τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε ταῖς Ἀθήναις συγγεγονώς οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην[1] συντυχών, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "ὦ Κικέρων, θρηνῶν καὶ γυναικείως διακείμενος; ὡς ἔγωγε οὔποτ' ἄν σε προσεδόκησα οὕτω μαλακισθήσεσθαι, πολλῆς μὲν παιδείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς μετεσχηκότα, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ συνηγορηκότα."

2 Καὶ ὃς ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὐδέν τοι ὅμοιόν ἐστιν, ὦ Φιλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τέ τινα λέγειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ συμβουλεύειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προϊόντα, καιρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει· ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάθημά τι τὴν ψυχὴν καταλάβῃ, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδὲν δύναται καίριον ἐννοῆσαι. ὅθεν που πάνυ καλῶς εἴρηται ὅτι ῥᾷον παραινέσαι ἑτέροις ἐστὶν ἢ αὐτὸν παθόντα καρτερῆσαι."

3 "Λέγεις μέν τι," ἔφη ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἀνθρώπινον· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠξίουν σε, τοσαύτῃ μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένον τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἠσκηκότα, μὴ οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἵν' εἴ τι καὶ παράλογόν σοι προσπέσοι, μήτι γε[2]

[1] τύχην Bs., τὴν τύχην L.
[2] μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L.

was passed, and he was forbidden to tarry in Sicily; B.C. 58
for he was banished five hundred miles[1] from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harboured him might be slain with impunity.

He accordingly went over to Macedonia and spent his time there in lamentations. But there met him a man named Philiscus, who had made his acquaintance in Athens and now by chance fell in with him again. "Are you not ashamed, Cicero," he said, "to be weeping and behaving like a woman? Really, I should never have expected that you, who have enjoyed such an excellent and varied education, and who have acted as advocate to many, would grow so faint-hearted."

"But," replied the other, "it is not at all the same thing, Philiscus, to speak for others as to advise one's self. The words spoken in others' behalf, proceeding from a mind that is firm and unshaken, are most opportune; but when some affliction overwhelms the spirit, it becomes turbid and darkened and cannot reason out anything that is opportune. For this reason, I suppose, it has been very well said that it is easier to counsel others than to be strong oneself under suffering."

"That is but human nature," rejoined Philiscus. "I did not think, however, that you, who are gifted with so much sound sense and have practised so much wisdom, had failed to prepare yourself for all human possibilities, so that even if some unexpected accident should befall you, it would not find you

[1] Literally 3,750 stades; Dio regularly reckons 7½ instead of 8 stades to the (Roman) mile. Cf. p. 61 and note. The distance here given agrees with Plutarch's statement (*Cic.* 32), but Cicero himself (*ad Att.* iii. 4) says 400 miles.

4 καὶ ἄφρακτόν σε εὕροι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκας, . . . καὶ γὰρ ἄν τι ὠφελήσαιμί σε διαλεξάμενός τι τῶν προσφόρων, ἵν' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ φορτία συναιρόμενοί τισιν ἐπικουφίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγώ σοι τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ἐπελαφρύναιμι, τοσούτῳ ῥᾷον ἐκείνων ὅσῳ μηδὲ
5 τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψομαι. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμυθίου τινὸς παρ' ἑτέρου τυχεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἑαυτῷ ἦσθα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔδει· νῦν δ' ὅμοιον πέπονθας ὥσπερ εἰ Ἱπποκράτης ἢ Δημοκήδης ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν πάνυ ἰατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτῳ περιπεσὼν ἀλλοτρίας χειρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἄκεσιν αὐτοῦ προσεδεήθη.[1]"

19 "'Αλλ' εἴ γέ τινα," ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων, "τοιοῦτον ἔχεις λόγον ὥστε τὴν ἀχλύν μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖόν με φῶς ἐπαναγαγεῖν, ἑτοιμότατός εἰμι ἀκούειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραὶ πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰσίν, ὥστ' οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἔν τε τῇ γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστηρίοις σοφίᾳ τινὶ καταιονήσειας."

2 "Φέρε οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἐπειδήπερ ἀκούειν ἕτοιμος εἶ, σκεψώμεθα πρῶτον μὲν εἰ κακὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ περιεστηκότα σε, ἔπειτα δὲ τίνα τρόπον αὐτὰ ἀκεσόμεθα. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἁπάντων ὁρῶ σε ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ εὖ μάλα ἐρρωμένον, ὅπερ που πρῶτον κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ

[1] προσεδεήθη Rk., προσδεηθῆι L.

unfortified at any point. But since, now, you are in this plight, . . .[1] for I might be of some little assistance to you by rehearsing a few appropriate arguments. And thus, just as men who put a hand to other's burdens relieve them, so I might lighten this misfortune of yours, and the more easily than they, inasmuch as I shall not take upon myself even the smallest part of it. Surely you will not deem it unbecoming, I trust, to receive some encouragement from another, since if you were sufficient for yourself, we should have no need of these words. As it is, you are in a like case to Hippocrates or Democedes or any of the other great physicians, if one of them had fallen ill of a disease hard to cure and had need of another's aid to bring about his own recovery." B.C. 58

"Indeed," said Cicero, "if you have any argument that will dispel this mist from my soul and restore me to the light of old, I am most ready to listen. For words, as drugs, are of many varieties, and divers potencies, so that it will not be surprising if you should be able to steep in some mixture of philosophy even me, for all my brilliant feats in the senate, the assemblies, and the law-courts."

"Come then," continued Philiscus, "since you are ready to listen, let us consider first whether these conditions that surround you are actually bad, and next in what way we may cure them. First of all, now, I see you are in excellent physical health and strength, which is surely man's chief natural blessing; and, next, that you have the necessities of

[1] The gap may be filled by some such words as, "I will endeavour to offer you some encouragement," or "Listen to me," as suggested by Bs.

3 ἐπιτήδεια αὐτάρκη κεκτημένον, ὥστε μήτε πεινῆν μήτε διψῆν ἢ ῥιγοῦν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄτοπον ὑπ' ἀπορίας ὑπομένειν, ὃ δὴ καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἄν τις ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει τιθείη. ὅταν γάρ τινι ἥ τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὖ[1] ἔχῃ καὶ διαρκεῖν ἀφροντιστῶν δύνηται, πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιβάλλοντα καρποῦται."

20 Ὁ οὖν Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὄφελός ἐστιν, ὅταν του τὴν ψυχὴν λυπῇ τι καὶ δάκνῃ· πολλῷ γὰρ πλεῖον[2] αἱ ἐκείνης φροντίδες ταλαιπωροῦσί τινα ἢ αἱ τοῦ σώματος εὐπάθειαι τέρπουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγιείας προτιμῶ, νοσῶν γε τὴν γνώμην, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίας· πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστέρημαι."

2 Καὶ ὅς, "καὶ τοῦτό σε," ἔφη, "λυπεῖ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεήσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔμελλες, λόγον ἄν τινα εἶχεν ἄχθεσθαί σε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν· εἰ δὲ ἔκπλεά σοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑπάρχει, τί ἀνιᾷ ὅτι μὴ καὶ πλείω κέκτησαι; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν τινὶ ὂν περιττόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ
3 παρὸν καὶ ἀπὸν καθέστηκεν, ἐπεί τοι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν δήπου τοῖς μὴ ἀναγκαίοις ἐχρῶ, ὥστε καὶ τότε μὴ εἶναι ὧν μὴ ἔχρῃζες ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὧν μὴ δέῃ νόμιζε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πατρῷά σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὥστε σε σπουδὴν ἰδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπό τε τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι' οὓς καὶ
4 ἀπόλωλεν. οὔκουν ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά-

[1] ἥ τε . . . εὖ Rk., ἡ . . . εὖ τε L.
[2] πλεῖον Rk., πλείονα L.

life in sufficiency so as not to hunger or thirst or suffer cold or endure any other hardship through lack of means—which may appropriately be set down as the second natural blessing for man. For when one's physical condition is good and one can live without anxiety, all the factors essential to happiness are enjoyed." B.C. 58

To this Cicero replied: "But not one of these things is of use when some grief is preying upon one's mind; for mental cares cause one far more distress than bodily comforts cause pleasure. Even so, I also at present set no value on my physical health, because I am suffering in mind, nor yet on the abundance of necessaries; for my loss is great indeed."

"And does this grieve you?" replied the other. "Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessaries in full measure, why do you distress yourself because you do not possess more? For all that one has beyond one's needs is superfluous, and amounts to the same thing whether present or absent; since surely you did not make use formerly of what was not necessary. Consider, therefore, either that then what you did not need you did not have, or else that you now have what you do not need. Most of these things, indeed, were not yours by inheritance, that you should be particularly exercised about them, but were acquired by your own tongue and by your own words—the very things which caused you to lose them. You should not, therefore, be vexed if things have

περ ἐκτήθη τινά, οὕτω καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρουσι πολλὰ ζημιούμενοι· λογίζεσθαι γάρ, οἶμαι, φρονίμως ἐπίστανται ὅτι ἡ θάλαττα ἡ διδοῦσά σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται.

21 "Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἱκανά· ἀποχρῆν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὧν τὸ σῶμα χρῄζει προσδεῖσθαι νομίζω, καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ φροντίδας
2 καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνους ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφησθα ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσυπάρχῃ τινί, ἔστι μὲν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος (ἀδύνατον γάρ, κακῶς αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, μὴ οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῇ συννοσεῖν), ἐγὼ μέντοι πολλῷ ῥᾷον οἴομαι εἶναι τῆς εὐεξίας τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμεληθῆναί
3 τινι ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ σάρκινον ὄν, πολλὰ μὲν ἄτοπα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, πολλῆς δὲ ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται· ἐκείνη δὲ δή, οἷα θειοτέρας φύσεως οὖσα, καὶ ῥυθμίζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ῥᾳδίως δύναται. οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα ἴδωμεν τί τέ σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενόμενον οὐκ ἂν ἀποτριψαίμεθα.

22 "Ὁρῶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμώτατόν σε ἀνθρώπων ὄντα· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐν οἷς συνεβούλευσάς τι αὐτοῖς, ἔπεισας, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐν οἷς συνηγόρησάς σφισιν, ὠφέλησας·
2 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δικαιότατον· πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπέρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασαι· καὶ αὐτά

been lost in the same manner in which they were won. Ship-masters, for example, do not take it greatly to heart when they suffer great losses; for they understand, I suspect, how to take the sensible view of it, namely, that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again. B.C. 58

"So much for the present point; for I think it should be enough for a man's happiness to have a sufficiency and to lack nothing that the body requires, and I hold that everything in excess involves anxiety, trouble, and jealousy. As for your saying, now, that there is no enjoyment of physical blessings unless those of the spirit are also present, that is indeed true, since it is impossible, if the spirit is in a poor state, that the body should fail to share in its ailment; nevertheless, I think it much easier for one to look after his mental health than his physical. For the body, being of flesh, contains in itself many dangers and requires much assistance from the divine power; whereas the spirit, of a nature more divine, can easily be trained and prompted. Let us see here also, then, what spiritual blessing has abandoned you and what evil has come upon you that we may not shake off.

"First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest sagacity. The proof is that you so often persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them advice, and so often helped private citizens in cases where you acted as their advocate. And secondly, I see that you are a most just man. Certainly you have always been found contending for your country and for your friends against those who plotted their ruin. Indeed, this

γε[1] ταῦτα ἃ νῦν πέπονθας, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι συμ-
βέβηκέ σοι ἢ ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
3 πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλεις. καὶ
μὴν ὅτι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκεις,
αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμά σου δηλοῖ· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ'
ἐστὶ δουλεύοντά τινα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς
ἐν μέσῳ τε ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνα-
στρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρια τὰ ἡμερινὰ ἔργα τῶν νυ-
4 κτερινῶν ποιούμενον. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων
ἐγὼ μέν σε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον ᾤμην εἶναι, τοσαύτῃ
μὲν ῥώμῃ διανοίας τοσαύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἰσχύι λόγων
χρώμενον· σὺ δέ, ὡς ἔοικας, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ-
πλαγεὶς ὅτι παρά τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν ἔπταισας, παρήρησαί τι τοῦ σφόδρα ἀν-
5 δρείου. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολήψῃ· τοιούτων
δὲ τῶν κατὰ σὲ ὄντων, καὶ εὖ μὲν ἥκοντος τοῦ
σώματος εὖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί τὸ
λυποῦν ἐστί σε."

23 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη "οὐ
δοκεῖ οὖν σοι μέγα κακὸν εἶναι ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή,
καὶ τὸ μήτ' οἴκοι διατρίβειν μήτε[2] μετὰ τῶν
φίλων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ' ὕβρεως
ἐκπεπτωκότα ζῆν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ καὶ ἀλᾶσθαι,
φυγάδα προσαγορευόμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς αἶσχος δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέχοντα;"
2 "Οὐδαμῇ ἔμοιγε" εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος. "δύο
γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε
καὶ σώματος, καὶ ῥητῶν ἑκατέρῳ παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς
φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μέν
τι περὶ ταῦθ' ἁμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλαβερὸν ἂν

[1] γε H. Steph., τε L. [2] μήτε supplied by Gros.

very misfortune which you have now suffered has B.C. 58
befallen you for no other reason than that you continued to say and do everything in behalf of the laws and of the constitution. Again, that you have attained the highest degree of self-mastery is shown by your very course of life, since it is not possible for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of those by night. This being the case, I, for my part, supposed you were also very brave, enjoying, as you did, such force of intellect and such power of oratory. But it seems that, startled out of yourself through having failed contrary to your hopes and deserts, you have fallen a little short of true courage. But you will regain this immediately, and as you are thus equipped as I have pointed out, with a good physical endowment as well as mental, I cannot see what it is that is distressing you."

At the end of this speech of his Cicero replied: "There seems to you, then, to be no great evil in disfranchisement and exile and in not living at home or being with your friends, but, instead, being expelled with violence from your country, living in a foreign land, and wandering about with the name of exile, causing laughter to your enemies and disgrace to your friends?"

"Not in the least, so far as I can see," declared Philiscus. "There are two elements of which we are constituted, soul and body, and definite blessings and evils are given to each of the two by Nature herself. Now if there should be any defect in these two, it would properly be considered injurious and

εἰκότως καὶ αἰσχρὸν νομίζοιτο, εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχοι,
3 καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ὠφέλιμον εἴη. ὃ καὶ σοὶ νῦν
ὑπάρχει. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα, αἱ φυγαὶ[1] καὶ
αἱ ἀτιμίαι, καὶ εἰ δή τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, νόμῳ τε
καὶ δοκήσει τινὶ καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ κακά ἐστι, καὶ
οὐδὲν οὔτε τῷ σώματι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ λυμαίνεται.
ποῖον μὲν γὰρ ἂν[2] σῶμα εἰπεῖν ἔχοις νενοσηκὸς ἢ
καὶ ἀπολωλός, ποίαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀδικωτέραν ἢ καὶ
ἀμαθεστέραν γεγονυῖαν ὑπ' ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς
ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
4 οὐχ ὁρῶ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι οὐδέν σφων φύσει
κακόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οὐδ'[3] ἡ ἐπιτιμία οὐδ' ἡ ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι διατριβὴ φύσει χρηστή, ἀλλ' ὁποῖά ποτ'
ἄν τις ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτὰ δοξάσῃ, τοιαῦτα
5 καὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι. αὐτίκα τὴν ἀτιμίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς παντελῶς ἄνθρωποι νομίζουσιν,[4] ἀλλ'
ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ἔργων ἐπαίτια παρὰ τισὶν ὄντα παρ
ἄλλοις ἐπαινεῖται, καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς τινῶν τιμώμενα
πρὸς ἑτέρων κολάζεται· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
6 οὔτε τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἴσασι. καὶ
πάνυ εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ μὴ προσάπτεται[5] τῶν τῇ
φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσηκόντων, οὐδ' ἀνήκειν
ἐς αὐτὸν νομίζεται. ὥσπερ ἂν οὖν, εἰ[6] κρίσις τις
ἢ καὶ ψήφισμά τι ἐγένετο τὸν δεῖνα νοσεῖν ἢ τὸν
δεῖνα αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, γελοιότατον ἂν δήπουθεν ἦν,
οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας ἔχει.
24 "Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε
ὁρῶ ὄν. ἀποδημία γάρ τις ἄτιμός ἐστιν, ὥστ'
εἴπερ αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ ἀτιμία μηδεμίαν κακίαν

[1] αἱ φυγαὶ supplied by Rk. [2] ἂν added by Pflugk.
[3] οὐδ' Bk., οὐθ' L. [4] νομίζουσιν Bk., νομίζουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν L.
[5] προσάπτεται R. Steph., προσάπτηται L. [6] εἰ H. Steph., ἢ L.

disgraceful; but if all should be right with them, it would be useful instead. This is your condition at the present moment. Those things which you mentioned, banishment and disfranchisement, and anything else of the sort, are disgraceful and evil only by convention and a certain popular opinion, and work no injury to either body or soul. What body could you cite that has fallen ill or perished and what spirit that has grown more unjust or even more ignorant through disfranchisement or exile or anything of that sort? I see none. And the reason is that no one of these things is by nature evil, just as neither citizenship nor residence in one's country is in itself excellent, but whatever opinion each one of us holds about them, such they seem to be. For instance, men do not universally apply the penalty of disfranchisement to the same acts, but certain deeds which are reprehensible in some places are praised in others, and various actions honoured by one people are punished by another. Indeed, some do not so much as know the name, nor the thing which it implies. And naturally enough; for whatever does not touch that which belongs to man's nature is thought to have no bearing upon him. Precisely in the same way, therefore, as it would be most ridiculous, surely, if some judgment or decree were to be rendered that So-and-so is sick or So-and-so is base, so does the case stand regarding disfranchisement. B.C. 58

"The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. It is a sojourn abroad involving disfranchisement; so that if disfranchisement in and of itself

ἔχει, οὐδὲ τῇ φυγῇ δήπου προστρίψασθαί τι
2 κακὸν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τήν γε ἄλλως συχνοὶ πλεῖ-
στον ὅσον χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑκόντες
ἀποδημοῦσι, καί τινες καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταν-
αλίσκουσι περινοστοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἀεὶ πανταχό-
θεν ἐξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο
3 βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διαφέρει τι
ἑκούσιόν τινα ἢ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ
ἄκων σωμασκῶν ἧττόν τι ἔρρωται τοῦ ἐθελοντὶ
αὐτὸ δρῶντος, οὐδ' ὁ ἄκων ναυτιλλόμενος ἧττω[1]
τινὰ ὠφελίαν τοῦ ἑτέρου κτᾶται. καὶ αὐτό γε
τοῦτο τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐχ ὁρῶ δυνάμενον ἀνδρὶ
4 φρονίμῳ συμβῆναι. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ
διάφορον τοῦ τε εὖ καὶ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν ἐστὶν
ὅτι[2] τὰ μὲν ἐθελονταὶ ἑτοίμως τὰ δ' ἄκοντες
χαλεπῶς ποιοῦμεν,[3] εὐθεράπευτον·[4] ἐὰν γάρ τοι
πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἑκούσιοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ
πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἡττώμεθα, συνανῄρηται[5] πάντα
5 κἀκεῖνα, ὅσα ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀκουσίῳ θῇ τις εἶναι. καὶ
γάρ που καὶ ἀρχαῖος λόγος καὶ μάλα εὖ ἔχων
ἐστὶν ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα ἀξιοῦν
γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης γίγνηται
βούλεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τὸν τοῦ βίου
τρόπον ἔχομεν οὔθ' αὑτῶν[6] ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν
6 τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, καὶ ὁποῖος ἂν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν δαίμων
ἐκπληρωτὴς τοῦ τεταγμένου δοθῇ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη
καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι.

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ἄν τ' ἐθέλωμεν ἄν

[1] ἧττω Bs., ἥττωνα L. [2] ὅτι added by Leuncl.
[3] ποιοῦμεν R. Steph., ποιῶμεν L.
[4] εὐθεράπευτον R. Steph., εὐθεράπευτος L.
[5] συνανῄρηται Rk., συνανήρτηται L.
[6] οὔθ' αὑτῶν R. Steph., οὔτ' αὐτῶν L.

contains no evil, surely no evil can be attached to exile either. In fact, many live abroad anyway for very long periods, some unwillingly, but others willingly; and some even spend their whole life travelling about, just as if they were expelled from every place in turn; and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. Nor does it make any difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not; the man who trains his body unwillingly is no less strong than he who does it willingly, and one who goes on a voyage unwillingly obtains no less benefit than another. And as regards this unwillingness itself, I do not see how it can exist with a man of sense. Accordingly, if the difference between being well and badly off is that we do some things readily and voluntarily, while we perform others unwillingly and grudgingly, the trouble can easily be remedied. For if we willingly endure all necessary things and allow none of them to conquer us, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been done away with at a single stroke. There is, indeed, an old saying and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to demand that whatever we wish should come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. For we neither have free choice in our manner of life nor are we our own masters; but according as it may suit chance, and according to the character of the fortune granted each one of us for the fulfilment of what is ordained, we must also shape our life. B.C. 58

"Such is the nature of the case whether we like it

τε καὶ μή· εἰ δέ σε οὐχὶ ἡ ἀτιμία αὐτὴ[1] οὐδ' ἡ
φυγὴ αὐτὴ[1] λυπεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν
ἠδικηκὼς τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ εὐηργε-
τηκὼς ἠτίμωσαί τε καὶ ἐξελήλασαι, λόγισαι τοῦθ',
ὅτι ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐπέπρωτό σοι τοιοῦτό τι
παθεῖν, κάλλιστον δήπου καὶ ἄριστον συμβέβηκε
2 τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐπηρεάσθαι.[2] σὺ[3] μὲν
γὰρ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς πολίταις συνεβού-
λευσας καὶ ἔπραξας, οὐκ ἰδιωτεύων ἀλλ' ὑπα-
τεύων, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ τι πολυπραγμονῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς
βουλῆς δόγμασι πειθόμενος, οὐ κατὰ στάσιν ἀλλ'
3 ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ γενομένοις·[4] ὁ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ
ὁ δεῖνα ἐκ δυναστείας καὶ ἐπηρείας πάντα κατὰ
σοῦ συνεσκευάσαντο, ὥστ' ἐκείνοις μὲν καὶ ἄχθε-
σθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ προσήκει, σοὶ
δὲ δὴ ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ
4 καλὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που μᾶλλον
ἂν ἐθελήσαις[5] τῷ τε Κατιλίνᾳ συμπράξας καὶ
τῷ Λεντούλῳ συνομόσας, καὶ πάντα μὲν τἀναντία
τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι παραινέσας, μηδὲν
δὲ τῶν προσταχθέντων σοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιήσας,
οἴκοι μένειν ἀδικήσας ἢ[6] κατορθώσας φυγεῖν.
5 οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τῆς δόξης σοι μέλει, πολλῷ που
αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐκπεπτω-
κέναι ἢ κακουργήσαντά τι οἴκοι μεμενηκέναι· τά
τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐκβα-
λοῦσί[7] τινα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ κατ' ἐπήρειαν ἐξελαθέντι[8]
προσγίγνεται.

[1] αὐτὴ Rk., αὕτη L. [2] ἐπηρεάσθαι Bk., ἐπηρέσθαι L.
[3] σὺ Pflugk, καὶ σὺ L. [4] γενομένοις Pflugk, γενόμενος L.
[5] ἐθελήσαις H. Steph., ἐθελῆσαι L. [6] ἢ added by Xyl.
[7] ἐκβαλοῦσι Bk., ἐκβάλλουσιν L.
[8] ἐξελαθέντι Dind., ἐξελασθέντι L.

or not. If, now, it is not disfranchisement in itself or exile in itself that troubles you, but the fact that you have not only done your country no injury but have actually benefited her greatly, and yet you have been disfranchised and expelled, look at it in this way—that, when once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has surely been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be despitefully used without having committed any wrong. For you advised and carried out all that was proper for the citizens, not as an individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decrees of the senate, which were not passed as party measures but for the best ends. This and that person, on the contrary, out of their superior power and insolence devised everything against you; hence they ought to have trouble and sorrow for their injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what Heaven has determined. Surely you would not prefer to have joined with Catiline and conspired with Lentulus, to have given your country the exact opposite of useful counsel, to have performed none of the duties laid upon you by her, and thus remain at home as the reward of wickedness, instead of saving your country and being exiled. Accordingly, if you care at all about your reputation, it is far preferable, I am sure, for you to have been driven out, after doing no wrong, than to have remained at home by performing some base act; for, apart from other considerations, the shame attaches to those who have unjustly cast a man forth, rather than to the man who has been wantonly expelled. B.C. 58

26 "Καίτοι ἔγωγε ἀκούω τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἄκων οὐδ' ἁλοὺς[1] μετέστης,[2] ἀλλ' ἐθελοντὴς ἐμίσησας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον, ἅτε μήτε βελτίους σφᾶς ποιῆσαι δυνάμενος μήτε συναπολέσθαι σφίσιν ὑπομένων, καὶ ἔφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῇ. ὥστ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ ἄτιμοι καὶ ἐξόριστοι εἶεν ἄν, πάντα τἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν
2 ἐκβεβληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπίτιμος καὶ εὐδαίμων, μήτ' ἀτόπως τινὶ δουλεύων καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἔχων, ἄν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄν τε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοθί που τῆς οἰκουμένης ζῆν ἐθελήσῃς. οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὰ χωρία οὔτε εὐτυχίαν οὔτε κακοδαιμονίαν τινὰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὑτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἀεὶ καὶ παν-
3 ταχοῦ ποιεῖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοήσας[3] ἡδέως ἐν Ἀρδέᾳ κατῴκησε, ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιπίων λογισάμενος ἀλύπως ἐν Λιτέρνῳ κατεβίω. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Ἀριστείδην, τί δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οὓς ἐνδοξοτέρους ἡ φυγὴ ἐποίησεν, τί τὸν Ἀννι . . .[4] τί τὸν Σόλωνα, ὃς ἑκὼν ἔτη δέκα ἀπεξενώθη;

4 "Μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ μήτε χαλεπόν τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ μήτε τῇ[5] τοῦ σώματος μήτε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν φύσει προσήκει, νόμιζε εἶναι, μήτ' ἀγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκόσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἵρεσίς τις ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελήσωμεν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπο-
5 μένειν ἡμᾶς τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν μὲν ἐθελονταὶ ποιῶμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἂν δὲ

[1] ἁλοὺς R. Steph., ἄλλους L. [2] μετέστης Bk., μετέστησας L.
[3] ἐννοήσας Rk., εὖ νοήσας L.
[4] Ἄννιον L, Ἀννίβαν Fabricius. [5] τῇ supplied by Leuncl.

"Moreover, the story, as I heard it, was that you did not depart unwillingly, nor after conviction, but of your own accord; that you hated to live with them, seeing that you could not make them better and would not endure to perish with them, and that you fled, not from your country, but from those who were plotting against her. Consequently it would be they who are dishonoured and banished, having cast out all that is good from their souls, and it would be you who are honoured and fortunate, as being nobody's slave in unseemly fashion but possessing all that is needful, whether you choose to live in Sicily, or in Macedonia, or anywhere else in the world. For surely it is not places that give either success or misfortune of any sort, but each man creates his own country and his own happiness always and everywhere. This was the feeling of Camillus when he was fain to dwell in Ardea; this was the way Scipio reasoned when he spent his last days in Liternum without grieving. But why mention Aristides or Themistocles, men whom exile rendered more famous, or . . .[1] or Solon, who of his own accord left home for ten years? B.C. 58

"Therefore, do you likewise cease to consider irksome any such thing as pertains neither to our physical nor to our spiritual nature, and do not vex yourself at what has happened. For to us belongs no choice, as I told you, of living as we please, but it is absolutely necessary for us to endure what Heaven determines. If we do this voluntarily, we shall not be grieved; but if involuntarily, we shall

[1] Annius, the Ms. reading, is corrupt; perhaps Hannibal is meant. In any case a relative clause appears to have been lost after the name.

ἀκόντως, οὔτε[1] ἐκφευξόμεθά τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτησόμεθα,
6 τὸ μάτην ἀνιᾶσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ἔχειν ὑποπτεύουσι· καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀμείνω κακῶς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ χείρω καλῶς μεταχειριζόμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις[2] ἑκάτερα δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιοῦσιν οἷα αὐτοῖς εἶναι παρασκευά-
27 ζουσι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογιζόμενος μήτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἄχθου, μήτ', ἂν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε εὐτυχοῦντας πυνθάνῃ, λυποῦ. κουφαὶ[3] μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλως αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐπραγίαι εἰσί, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλόν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαύξῃ, ῥᾷον ὥσπερ πνεῦμα πίπτει, μάλιστα
2 δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένοις καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι[4] μικρόν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέν, τῶν χειμαζομένων διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτὲ μὲν δεῦρο τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖσε, ᾄττουσι·[5] κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον
3 σφαλῶσι, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται. καὶ ἵνα γε μήτε τὸν Δροῦσον μήτε τὸν Σκιπίωνα μήτε τοὺς Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εἴπω, μέμνησο[6] μὲν ὅπως ὁ Κάμιλλος ὁ φυγὰς ἄμεινον τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου[7] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήλλαξε, μέμνησο[6] δὲ ὅσον Ἀριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὕστερον διήνεγκεν.
4 "Ὥστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἔλπιζε καὶ καταχθήσεσθαι (οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀδικίας ἐξελήλασαι, καὶ

[1] οὔτε Rk., οὐδὲ, L. [2] ἄλλοις supplied by Rk.
[3] κουφαὶ Leuncl., κωφαὶ L. [4] φερόμενοι R. Steph., φερόμενος L.
[5] ᾄττουσι supplied by Reim. [6] μέμνησο Rk., μέμνησθε L.
[7] Καπιτωλίνου Wesseling, Καπιτωλίου L.

not escape at all what is fated, and we shall at the B.C. 58
same time acquire the greatest of ills—the distressing of our hearts to no purpose. The proof of this is that men who bear good-naturedly the most outrageous fortunes do not regard themselves as being in any very dreadful plight, while those who are disturbed at the lightest disappointments imagine that all human ills are theirs. And people in general, both those who manage favourable conditions badly and those who manage unfavourable conditions well, make their good or ill fortune appear to others to be just what they make it for themselves. Bear this in mind, then, and be not cast down by your present state, nor grieve if you learn that the men who exiled you are flourishing. For the successes of men are vain and ephemeral at best, and the higher a man climbs as a result of them, the more easily, like a breath, does he fall, especially in partisan strife. Borne along in the midst of troubled and unstable conditions they differ little, if at all, from sailors in a storm, but are tossed up and down, now hither, now thither; and if they make the slightest mistake, they are sure to sink. Not to mention Drusus, or Scipio, or the Gracchi, or certain others, remember how Camillus, the exile, later came off better than Capitolinus, and remember how greatly Aristides afterwards surpassed Themistocles.

"Do you also, then, hope, first and foremost, for your restoration; for you have not been expelled

ἐπιζητήσουσι μέν σε, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες)· ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐμμείνῃς, μήτι γε[1] καὶ
28 ἀνιαθῇς παρὰ τοῦτο μηδέν. ἂν μὲν γάρ μοι πεισθῇς, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τέ τι παραθαλασσίδιον ἔξω πάτου ἐκλεξάμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεωργῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Ξενοφῶν,
2 ὡς Θουκυδίδης. τό τε γὰρ εἶδος τοῦτο τῆς σοφίας διαρκέστατόν ἐστι καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πάσῃ δὲ πολιτείᾳ ἁρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ σχολὴν γονιμωτέραν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ὄντως ἀθάνατος καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ζήλωσον αὐ-
3 τούς. τά τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἀρκοῦντα ἔχεις καὶ οὔτ' ἀξιώματός τινος προσδέῃ. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, ὑπάτευκας· καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν τοῖς καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἢ καὶ τέταρτον ἄρξασι, πλὴν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦ κενῶν, ὑπάρχει, ἃ μήτε ζῶντα μήτ' ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ὠφελεῖ.
4 οὔκουν ἂν ἕλοιο οὔτε Κορουῖνος οὔτε Μάριος ὁ ἑπτάκις ὑπατεύσας μᾶλλον ἢ Κικέρων εἶναι. οὔτ' αὖ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσάν σοι ἐξέστης, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κερδῶν, καταφρονήσας δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγοχρονίου τε καὶ ὑπευθύνου πᾶσι τοῖς συκοφαντεῖν
5 ἐθέλουσιν ἐξουσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' εἶπον οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν τι[2] αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπείπερ ἐχρῆν, ἱκανῶς ἐξήτασαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὸ διάφορον τῶν βίων μαθὼν τὰ μὲν ἕλῃ τὰ δὲ ἀπώσῃ[3] καὶ τὰ μὲν διώξῃς τὰ δὲ φύγῃς. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος

[1] μήτι γε Dind.. μήτοι γε L. [2] τι supplied by Oddey.
[3] ἀπώσῃ Dind., ἀπωθήσῃ L.

on account of wrong-doing, and the very ones who drove you forth will, as I learn, seek for you, while all will miss you. But even if you continue in your present state, do not distress yourself at all about it. For if you will take my advice, you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate in some retired spot on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon and like Thucydides. This form of learning is most enduring and best adapted to every man and to every state; and exile brings with it a kind of leisure that is more fruitful. If, then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, emulate them. You have the necessary means in sufficiency and you lack no distinction. For if there is any virtue in such honours, you have been consul; nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus,[1] or Marius, the man seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from the one bestowed upon you, because you scorned the gains to be had from it, scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practise blackmail. These matters I have mentioned, not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was necessary, you have occupied yourself sufficiently with public affairs to learn therefrom the difference in lives and to choose the one course and reject the other, to pursue the one and avoid the other. Our life is but short, and you B.C. 58

[1] M. Valerius Corvus (less properly Corvinus), consul for the sixth time in B.C. 299.

ἡμῶν, καὶ δεῖ σε μὴ πάντα αὐτὸν ἄλλοις βιῶναι,
6 *ἀλλ' ἤδη τι καὶ σεαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαι δὲ ὅσον ἥ τε ἡσυχία τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ ἡ εὔροια*[1] *τῶν θορύβων ἥ τε ἐλευθερία τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια τῶν κινδύνων διαφέρει, ἵν' ἐπιθυμήσῃς ζῆσαι ὡς ἐγώ σοι παραινῶ.*

"*Οὕτω μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονήσεις, καί σου μέγα ὄνομα καὶ*[2] *τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ*
29 *τελευτήσαντος ἔσται· ἂν δὲ δὴ τήν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσῃς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ λαμπρότητα ζηλώσῃς, δυσχερὲς μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δέ, ἔς τε τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σὴν παρρησίαν ἐννοῶν, τήν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σου θεωρῶν,*
2 *μήποτέ τι καὶ αὖθις σφαλῇς. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ γένοιο, μεταγνώσῃ μόνον,*[3] *εἰ δέ τι ἕτερον ἀνήκεστον πάθοις, οὐδὲ μετανοῆσαι δυνήσῃ. καίτοι πῶς μὲν οὐ δεινόν, πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἀποτμηθῆναί τέ τινος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τεθῆναι, κἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἄνδρα τινὰ αὐτῇ*
3 *καὶ γυναῖκα*[4] *ἐνυβρίσαι; καί με μὴ ὡς φαῦλά σοι οἰωνιζόμενον μισήσῃς, ἀλλ' ὡς διοσημίαν τινὰ προδεικνύντα φύλαξαι. μηδέ σε ἐξαπατάτω*[5] *τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν ἔχεις· οὐδὲν γάρ σε ὠφελήσουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες φιλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρῶς*[6] *διακειμένους, ὥσπερ*
4 *που καὶ πεπείρασαι. οἱ γὰρ δυναστείας ἐρῶντες παρ' οὐδὲν*[7] *πάντα τἆλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν*

[1] *εὔροια* R. Steph., *εὔρεια* L. [2] *καὶ* R. Steph., *εἰ καὶ* L.
[3] *μόνον* Bk., *μὲν* L.
[4] *καὶ ἄνδρα—καὶ γυναῖκα* Bk., *κἂν ἀ.—κἂν γ.* L.
[5] *ἐξαπατάτω* R. Steph., *ἐξαπάτω* L.
[6] *ἐχθρῶς* R. Steph., *ἐχθροὺς* L. [7] *οὐδὲν* Reim., *οὐδενὶ* L.

ought not to live all yours for others, but by this time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much better quiet is than turmoil, and tranquillity than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name shall be great because of it—and that for evermore, whether you are living or dead. B.C. 58

"If, however, you are eager for your restoration and aim at a brilliant political career, I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, but I fear, as I cast my eyes over the situation and call to mind your frankness of speech, and behold the power and numbers of your adversaries, that you may meet defeat once more. If then you should encounter exile, you will have merely to experience a change of heart; but if you should incur some fatal punishment, you will not be able even to repent. And yet is it not a dreadful and disgraceful thing to have one's head cut off and set up in the Forum, for any man or woman, it may be, to insult? Do not hate me as one who prophesies evil to you, but pay heed to me as to one announcing a warning from Heaven. Do not let the fact that you have certain friends among the powerful deceive you. You will get no help against those who hate you from the men who seem to love you, as, indeed, you have learned by experience. For those who have a passion for power regard everything else as nothing in comparison with obtaining what

βούλονται τίθενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀντικαταλλάσσονται."

30 Καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥᾴων[1] πως ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντος κατήχθη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κλώδιος τόν τε Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον, ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι καὶ
2 τότε παρὰ Λουκίῳ Φλαουίῳ ὄντα, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἐξήρπασε καὶ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τόν τε Γαβίνιον ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ περιύβρισε, τοῖς τε ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς οὖσι καὶ πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε ῥάβδους συνέτριψε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιέρωσεν.
3 ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ[2] ἐξουσίᾳ, ἣν αὐτὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀπεδεδώκει, κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν Κικέρωνα ἠθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθὺς διὰ τοῦ Νιννίου πράττειν ἤρξατο.
4 καὶ ὃς ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἀπόντα τὸν Κλώδιον τηρήσας· ἀντιστάντος δέ οἱ ἑτέρου τινὸς δημάρχου, ἐκείνην τε ὡς καὶ τῷ πλήθει κοινώσων ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλωδίῳ πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ἠναντιοῦτο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ φιλονεικίαι καὶ τραύματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν
5 πολλὰ ἑκατέροις ἐγίγνετο. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουληθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος τόν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδών, ὅπως ῥᾷον ὅσα ἔπραττε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν[3] τότε τὴν Κύπρον ἔχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὅτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν

[1] ῥᾴων Rk., ῥαιδίως L. [2] τῇ Xyl., ἐν L.
[3] τὸν added by Rk.

they desire, and often give up their dearest friends and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest foes." B.C. 58

On hearing this Cicero grew somewhat easier in mind. His exile, however, did not last long, but he was recalled by Pompey himself, who had been chiefly responsible for his expulsion. The reason was this. Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes the younger, who was still at that time in confinement at the house of Lucius Flavius, and had let him go; and when Pompey and Gabinius became indignant at this, he wantonly insulted them, inflicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke to pieces the consul's fasces, and devoted his property to the gods. Pompey, enraged at this, particularly because the authority which he himself had restored to the tribunes had been used against him by Clodius, desired to recall Cicero, and immediately began through Ninnius to work for his restoration. The latter waited for Clodius to be absent, and then introduced in the senate the motion in Cicero's behalf. When another one of the tribunes opposed him, he not only posted up his measure, indicating that he would communicate it also to the people, but he furthermore set himself in unqualified opposition to Clodius at every point. From this there arose contentions and many wounds in consequence for both sides. But before matters reached that point Clodius wished to get Cato out of the way, so that he might more easily succeed with his schemes, and likewise to avenge himself upon Ptolemy, who then held Cyprus, because the latter

καταποντιστῶν οὐκ ἐλύσατο, τήν τε νῆσον ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ μάλα ἄκοντα ἀπέστειλε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν[1] τῇ πόλει ἐγίγνετο· Καῖσαρ δὲ εὗρε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἡσύχαζεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διεγένετο, ἀλλὰ αὐτομάτου τὸ πρῶτον πολέμου τινὸς αὐτῷ συμβάντος ἕτερος συνηνέχθη, ὥστ' αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα . . .
2 καὶ πολεμῆσαι καὶ κατορθῶσαι. Ἐλουήτιοι γὰρ πλήθει τε ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ σφῶν ἔχοντες, μέρος μέν τι ἐκπέμψαι ἐς ἀποικίαν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ διασπασθέντες εὐεπιβουλευτότεροι τοῖς λυπηθεῖσί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν γένωνται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστῆναι βουληθέντες, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ καὶ πλείω καὶ βελτίω χώραν μετοικισθησόμενοι, τάς τε κώμας καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἁπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὥστε μηδένα
3 μετάμελον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιήσασθαι. καί τινας[2] καὶ ἑτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβόντες ἀπῆραν, Ὀρκετόριγός σφισιν ἡγουμένου, ἐν νῷ[3] ἔχοντες τόν τε Ῥοδανὸν διαβῆναι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσί που κατοικισθῆναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ τήν τε γέφυραν διέκοψε καὶ τἆλλα ὡς κωλύσων αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἡτοιμάζετο, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δίοδόν τε αἰτούμενοι καὶ προσυπισχνούμενοι μηδὲν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν κακώσειν.
4 καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε ἐπίστευεν[4] αὐτοῖς μήτε προχωρῆσαί ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ'

[1] ἐν added by R. Steph. [2] τινας Bk., τινας μὲν L.
[3] ἐν νῷ supplied by Leuncl.
[4] ἐπίστευεν H. Steph., ἐπίστευσεν L.

had failed to ransom him from the pirates. Hence he declared the island the property of the state and despatched Cato, very much against the latter's will, to attend to its administration. B.C. 58

While this was going on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul, but everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but first one war broke out against him of its own accord, and then another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of waging war and winning success for the whole [period of his command (?)]. The Helvetii, who were strong in numbers and had not sufficient land for their large population, were unwilling to send out a part to form a colony for fear that if separated they might be more exposed to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured; instead, they decided to migrate all together, with the intention of settling in some larger and better country, and they burned all their villages and cities, so that none should regret the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who felt the same needs, they set out with Orgetorix as their leader, intending to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps. When Caesar destroyed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him asking permission to cross and also promising to do no injury to the Roman territory. And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, nevertheless, because he

ὅτι γε οὐδέπω καλῶς παρεσκεύαστο, βουλεύσεσθαί τε[1] ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠξίουν μετὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἔφη καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ δώσειν. καί τι καὶ ἐλπίδος, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφίσι τὴν δίοδον, ὑπετείνατο. κἀν τούτῳ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὥστ' ἄπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν γενέσθαι.

32 Οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι χρόνον μέν τινα ἐπέσχον, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἤκουσαν κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, ἄραντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἐπορεύοντο ᾗπερ ὥρμηντο, ἔπειτ' ἐντυχόντες τοῖς
2 κωλύμασιν ἐς Σηκουανοὺς ἀπετράποντο, καὶ διά τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδούων ἐθελοντί σφισι τὴν δίοδον, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν ἀδικηθῶσι, παρεχόντων διιόντες οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτουν. πέμψαντες οὖν οἵ τε Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἴδουοι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ᾔτουν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μή
3 σφας περιιδεῖν ἀπολομένους.[2] καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν οὐδὲν ὅμοια οἷς ἔπραξαν, ἔτυχον δ' οὖν ὅμως ὧν ἠξίουν· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Τόλοσαν οἱ Ἐλουήτιοι τράπωνται, εἵλετο μετ' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συμφρονήσασί σφισιν, ὅπερ εὔδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, πολεμῆσαι.
4 προσπεσὼν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐλουητίοις τὸν Ἄραριν διαβαίνουσι, τοὺς μὲν τελευταίους ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ προκεχωρηκότας ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐκ[3] τῆς πύστεως τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε ἐς ὁμολογίαν

[1] τε H. Steph., τι L. [2] ἀπολομένους Cobet, ἀπολουμένους L.
[3] ἐκ added by Bk.

was not yet well prepared he answered that he B.C. 58
wished to consult his lieutenants about their requests and would give them their reply on a stated day; in fact he held out some little hope that he would grant them the passage. Meanwhile he dug ditches and erected walls in the most commanding positions, so as to make the road impassable for them.

Accordingly the barbarians waited for a time, and then, when they heard nothing as agreed, they set out and proceeded first through the country of the Allobroges, as they had begun. Then, encountering the obstacles, they turned aside into the territory of the Sequani and passed through their land as well as that of the Aedui, who gave them a free passage on condition that they should do no harm; but instead of abiding by the agreement, they went to plundering their country. Then the Sequani and Aedui sent to Caesar asking for assistance and begging him not to let them be ruined. Although their statements did not correspond at all with their past deeds, they nevertheless obtained their request. For Caesar was afraid the Helvetii might turn also against Tolosa, and chose to drive them back with the help of the other tribes, rather than to fight them all after they had come to an understanding, which it was clear they would otherwise do. Consequently he fell upon the Helvetii as they were crossing the Arar, annihilating at the very ford those who were bringing up the rear, and so alarming those who had gone ahead by the suddenness and swiftness of his pursuit and the report of their losses, that they desired to come to terms, on condition of

33 ἐπὶ χώρᾳ τινὶ ἐθελῆσαι ἐλθεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
συνέβησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμήρους ᾐτήθησαν, ἠγα-
νάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἠπιστοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπηξίουν
ὁμήρους τισὶ δοῦναι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν σπονδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχω-
ροῦντες δὲ αὖθις τήν τε ἵππον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀπό
τε τοῦ πεζοῦ πολὺ προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀπι-
σθοφύλακας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες
2 τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐνίκησαν, κἀκ τούτου αὐτοί τε φρόνημα
λαβόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον φυγεῖν διά τε τὴν ἐλάττω-
σιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίσας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν
τινὰ ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ οὖσαν ἐξετράπετο, νομίσαντες,
3 τοῦ τε πρόσω ἀφεῖντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτόν. ἰδὼν
οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τήν τε ὁρμὴν
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετέωρόν
τι ὥρμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προεβάλετο[1] προκιν-
δυνεῦσαί σφισιν, ἕως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ παρατάξῃ.
τρεψαμένων τε αὖθις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον θυμῷ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμέ
σφισιν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ ἅτε συντεταγμένος σποράδας
4 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεώσατο. τραπο-
μένων δὲ τούτων, ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν μὴ μαχομένων
(ὑπό τε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς οὐ
πάντες ἅμα παρεγένοντο) προσέμιξαν ἐξαίφνης κα-
τὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσί σφας, καὶ ἐθορύβησαν
5 μὲν αὐτούς, πλεῖον δὲ οὐδὲν ἔσχον· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ
τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοὺς φεύγοντας προστάξας αὐτὸς
τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατή-
σας πρός τε τὰς ἁμάξας ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συγ-
καταφυγοῦσιν ἐφέσπετο, κἀνταῦθα αὖθις ἰσχυρῶς

[1] προεβάλετο Rk., προσεβάλλετο L.

receiving some land. They did not, however, reach any agreement; for when they were asked for hostages, they became offended, not because they were distrusted, but because they thought it unworthy of them to give hostages to anyone. So they disdained a truce and went forward again. B.C. 58

When Caesar's cavalry galloped far ahead of the infantry and proceeded to harass their rear-guard, the enemy withstood them with their own cavalry and conquered them. Filled with pride in consequence, and thinking that he, too, had fled, both because of the defeat and because, owing to lack of provisions, he turned aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress and pursued after him. Caesar, seeing this and fearing the violence of their attack as well as their numbers, hurried with his infantry to some higher ground, but first threw forward his horsemen to bear the brunt of the fighting until he could marshal his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited charge straight up the hill, when Caesar with his forces in battle-array dashed down upon them suddenly from his superior position, while they were scattered, and so repulsed them without difficulty. After these had been routed, some others who had not joined in the conflict—for owing to their multitude and their haste not all had arrived at the same time—attacked the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but gained no advantage. For Caesar, leaving the fugitives to his cavalry, and turning himself with his heavy-armed troops to the others, defeated them and followed both bodies as they fled together to the waggons; and there, though from these vehicles they made a

ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυνομένους σφᾶς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες
6 δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι δίχα διῃρέθησαν. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔς τε τὴν οἰκείαν ὅθεν
ἐξανέστησαν ἐπανῆλθον, κἀνταῦθα τὰς πόλεις
ἀνορθώσαντες ᾤκησαν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες τὰ
ὅπλα παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὸν Ῥῆνον, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν
ἀρχαίαν σφῶν γῆν ἐπανελθεῖν δυνάμενοι, ὥρμη-
σαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι' ὧν
διῄεσαν ῥᾳδίως, ἅτε καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ νενικημένους,
ἔφθειραν.

34 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὐχ ἡσύχασεν,
ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα[1] ἅμα ἀπεπλή-
ρωσε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐχαρίσατο. οἵ τε γὰρ
Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἴδουοι τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ
ἰδόντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
αἰσθόμενοι, ἐκείνῳ τε εὐεργεσίαν ἅμα καταθέσθαι
καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὁμοχώρους σφίσι τιμωρή-
2 σασθαι ἠθέλησαν· τὸν γὰρ Ῥῆνον πάλαι ποτὲ
διαβάντες τῆς τε χώρας αὐτῶν τινα παρετέτμηντο
καὶ αὐτοὺς[2] ὑποτελεῖς ἐπεποίηντο, ὁμήρους σφῶν
ἔχοντες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι ὧν ὠρέγετο,
ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισαν ἐπικουρῆσαί σφισιν.
3 Ἦρχε μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόουιστος τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκεί-
νων, καὶ τήν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τούς τε
συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπα-
τεύοντος ἐσεγέγραπτο·[3] πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
πολέμου δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς[4] ἰσχὺν οὐδὲν

[1] βούλημα Bk., βούλευμα L.
[2] αὐτοὺς Bk., ἑαυτοῖς L, ἑαυτοὺς U^G.
[3] ἐσεγέγραπτο Bs., ἔγραπτο L. [4] ἀπ' αὐτῆς Bk., ἀπ' αὐτῶν L.

vigorous defence, he vanquished them again. After this reverse the barbarians divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, and going back again to their native land, whence they had set out, they rebuilt and occupied their cities there. The others refused to surrender their arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their old home, set out for the Rhine; but being few in numbers and labouring under a defeat, they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose territory they passed. B.C. 58

Such was the first war that Caesar fought, and he did not remain quiet after this beginning; instead, he at the same time satisfied his own desire and did the allies a favour. For the Sequani and Aedui, who had marked his desire and had noticed that his deeds corresponded with his hopes, were willing at one stroke to bestow a benefit upon him and to take vengeance upon the Germans,[1] who were their neighbours. The latter had at some time in the remote past crossed the Rhine, cut off portions of their territory, and rendered them tributaries, taking hostages from them. And because they happened to be asking what Caesar was anxious for, they easily persuaded him to assist them.

Now Ariovistus was the ruler of those Germans; his authority had been confirmed by the Romans and he had been enrolled among their friends and allies by Caesar himself during his consulship. In comparison, however, with the glory to be derived from the war and the power which that glory would bring, the

[1] Dio regularly uses the word "Celts" in place of "Germans"; to avoid confusion, however, the usual term has been adopted in the translation.

τούτων ἐφρόντισε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, μὴ καὶ προϋπάρ-
4 χειν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νομισθῇ, λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαλεχθῆναί
τι αὐτῷ δεόμενος. ἐπειδή τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἔφη ὅτι "εἴ τί μοι βούλεται Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν,
αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθέτω· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως κατα-
δεέστερος αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν χρείαν τινὸς ἔχοντα
5 αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεῖ," ὀργήν τε ὡς
καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προπεπηλακικότος
αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτῳ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα τούς
τε ὁμήρους τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήτησεν αὐτόν, καὶ
προσαπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μήτε τῆς χώρας σφῶν
ἐπιβαίνειν μήτ' ἐπικουρίας οἴκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι.
6 ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραξεν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτόν,
ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξοργιεῖν κἀκ τούτου πρόφασιν τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ μεγάλην καὶ εὐπρεπῆ λήψεσθαι
ἤλπισεν. ὅπερ ἐγένετο· ἀχθεσθεὶς γὰρ ὁ βάρ-
βαρος τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπεκρί-
νατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα λόγους μὲν μηκέτ' αὐτῷ
ἀντιπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεσοντίωνα, τὴν τῶν
Σηκουανῶν πόλιν, εὐθύς, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι[1]
τινά, προκατασχεῖν.

35 Κἀν τούτῳ οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης
ὅτι τε ὁ Ἀριόουιστος ἰσχυρῶς παρασκευάζεται,
καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν Κελτῶν πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν δια-
βεβήκασιν ἤδη τὸν Ῥῆνον ὡς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ συνειλέχαται[2]
ὅπως ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ἐπίθωνται, δεινῶς ἠθύμη-
2 σαν· τά τε γὰρ μεγέθη αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τό

[1] αἰσθέσθαι U^a, αἰσθηθήσεσθαι L.
[2] συνειλέχαται St., συνειλόχαται L.

Roman general heeded none of these considerations, B.C. 58
except in so far as he wished to get some excuse for the quarrel from the barbarian, so that he should not appear to be in any way the aggressor against Ariovistus. Therefore he sent for him, pretending that he wished to have a conference with him. Ariovistus, instead of obeying, replied: "If Caesar wishes to say anything to me, let him come to me himself. I am not inferior to him, anyway, and the man who has need of another should himself go to that person." Thereupon Caesar became angry on the ground that he had thereby insulted all the Romans, and he immediately demanded of him the hostages of the allies and forbade him either to set foot on their land or to bring any reinforcements from home. This he did, not with the idea of scaring him, but because he hoped to enrage him and by that means to gain a good and plausible pretext for the war. And this was what happened. The barbarian, angered by these demands, made a long and harsh reply, so that Caesar no longer bandied words with him, but straightway, before any one was aware of his intentions, seized on Vesontio, the city of the Sequani.

Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers that Ariovistus was making vigorous preparations, and also that many other Germans had either already crossed the Rhine to assist him or had collected on the very bank of the river to attack the Romans suddenly; hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and

τε θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλὰς ἐκπλαγέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρία ἄπορα καὶ ἄγρια προσοισόμενοι. καὶ ἐθρύλουν ὅτι πόλεμον οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναιροῖντο, καὶ προσεπηπείλουν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτόν, ἂν μὴ μετα-
3 βάληται. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲν διελέξατο (οὔτε γὰρ καλὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τοιαῦτα πρὸς πολλοὺς λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντα ἐκφοιτήσειν, καὶ ἔδεισε μή πως ἀπειθήσαντες θορυβήσωσι καὶ κακόν τι ἐξεργάσωνται), τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείονας ἀθροίσας τοιάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔλεξεν.

36 "Οὐ τὸν αὐτόν, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς περί τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλεύεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρῶ σκοπὸν ἰδίᾳ τε ἑκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἅπασιν ὄντα. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐπιεικέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν
2 προσήκει. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ[1] ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις δραστηρίους εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἐθέλει εἰ μὴ[2] καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεσθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονέστατός ἐστι, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου κατα-
3 λυθείη. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετηθέντα καὶ ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται μέχριπερ ἂν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν γένος συνεστήκῃ.

[1] καὶ added by "B" (in *Litt. Centralbl.* 1891, p. 1319).
[2] εἰ μὴ Reim., μὴ L.

consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood B.C. 58
as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious wild beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar's personal ambition; and they threatened also to desert him if he did not change his course. So he, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the common soldiers, since he thought it was not a good plan to discuss such matters before a crowd, and that if he did, these things would get out and reach the enemy, and since he feared his soldiers might perchance refuse obedience, raise a tumult, and do some harm, but he assembled his lieutenants and subalterns and spoke before them as follows:

"My friends, we ought not, I think, to deliberate about public interests in the same way as about private. In fact, I do not see that the same goal is set for each man privately as for all together publicly. For though we may for ourselves take the course that is most expedient and safe, yet for the people we should both adopt and carry out only the measures that are best. Even in private matters it is necessary to be energetic; so only can a respectable position be maintained. Still, a man who is least occupied with affairs is thought to be also safest. But a state, especially if it holds sway over others, would be very quickly overthrown by such a course.[1] These laws, not drawn up by man but enacted by Nature herself, always have existed, do exist, and will exist so long as the race of mortals endures.

[1] Cf. Frg. 8 and Thucydides ii. 63.

"Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, οὐδ' ὑμῶν οὐδένα
χρὴ τὸ ἴδιον ἡδὺ καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ παρόντι
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εὐπρεπὲς
4 καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. λογίζεσθε γὰρ τά τε
ἄλλα ὅσα εἰκός ἐστι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεῦρο
ἤλθομεν αὐτοί τε τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἔκ τε
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντες, καὶ πλῆθος
πολὺ στρατιωτῶν χρήματά τε ἄφθονα λαβόντες,
5 οὐχ ἵνα ῥᾳθυμῶμεν, οὐδ' ἵνα ἀμελῶμεν, ἀλλ'
ὅπως τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὀρθῶς διοικήσωμεν καὶ
τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωμεν, τούς
τε ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντάς σφας ἀμυνώμεθα, καὶ
6 τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐπαυξήσωμεν. ὡς εἴ γε μὴ ταῦθ'
οὕτω φρονοῦντες ἤλθομεν, τί ποτε καὶ ἀρχὴν
ἐξεστρατεύσαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τρόπον γέ[1] τινα οἴκοι
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κατεμείναμεν; καὶ γάρ που
καὶ ἄμεινον ἦν μηδ' ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρατείαν
7 ἢ προσταχθέντας αὐτὴν προδοῦναι. εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν
ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὸ προσταττόμενον
ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος πράττειν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους
ἐθελονταὶ διά τε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ διὰ τὰς ὠφελίας
τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων περιγιγνομένας πάρεσμεν,
πῶς ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ ὁσίως ἡμῖν ἔχοι ψεύσασθαι
καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκπεμψάντων ἡμᾶς ἅμα καὶ τὰς
8 ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας; ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν
εἷς οὕτως εὖ πράξειεν ὥστε μὴ οὐ τῷ κοινῷ
πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι· τὸ δὲ δημόσιον εὐτυ-
χοῦν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἑκάστου συμφορὰς ἀναφέρει.
37 "Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἑταῖροί
τε καὶ φίλοι, τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὄντας (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως
ἀγνοεῖτε αὐτὰ ὥστε καὶ μαθεῖν δεῖσθαι, οὔτ'

[1] γέ Bk., τε L.

"This being the case, no one of you at this juncture should have an eye to what is privately agreeable and safe so much as to what is creditable and advantageous to all the Romans. For, apart from the other considerations that may naturally arise, reflect in particular that we who are so many and of such rank—members of the senate and knights—have come here accompanied by a great multitude of soldiers and with money in abundance, not that we may take our ease or neglect our duties, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound to us by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. For if it was not in this spirit that we came, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of contriving in some manner or other to stay at home attending to our own affairs? Surely it were better not to have undertaken the campaign than to give it up after being assigned to it. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the majority of us voluntarily, on account of the honours and rewards that come from the wars we wage, how could we either honourably or rightly cheat not only the hopes of the men who sent us forth but also our own? For no one can fare so well individually as not to be ruined with the republic, if it should fall; but if the state prospers, it sustains all the misfortunes of each individual citizen. B.C. 58

"I do not say this with reference to you who are here, my comrades and friends; for you are not ignorant of these things, that you need to be instructed

ὀλιγώρως αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὥστε καὶ προτροπῆς χρῄ-
ζειν), ἀλλ' ὅτι τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ᾔσθημαι
αὐτούς τε θρυλοῦντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντα τόνδε
τὸν πόλεμον ἀνῃρήμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσ-
2 στασιάζοντας, ἵν' αὐτοί τε βεβαιοτέραν ἐκ τῶν
παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγων τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προθυ-
μίαν ποιήσησθε, καὶ ἐκείνους πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει
διδάξητε· πλείω γὰρ ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ
πολλάκις ἀκούοντες αὐτὰ ὠφεληθεῖεν ἢ παρ'
3 ἐμοῦ ἅπαξ πυθόμενοι. λέγετε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι
οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν οὐκ οἴκοι μένοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς
στρατείας ὀκνοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους φεύ-
γοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς ῥᾳθυμίας διώκοντες τηλικαύτην
τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γνώμαις πάντα
τὰ προσήκοντα προχείρως τολμῶντες καὶ τοῖς
σώμασι πάντα τὰ ἀρέσαντα προθύμως ἐκπο-
4 νοῦντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια ὡς ἀλλότρια ἀεί ποτε
παραβαλλόμενοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν πέλας ὡς καὶ
οἰκεῖα ἑτοίμως κτώμενοι, καὶ μήτε εὐδαιμονίαν
ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν νομίζοντες,
μήτε δυστυχίαν ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ μετ' ἀπραξίας[1]
ἡσυχάζειν ἡγούμενοι.
5 "Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοί
τε, ὀλίγιστοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενόμενοι καὶ πόλιν
οὐδεμίαν ἧς οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸ πρῶτον νεμόμενοι,
Λατίνους ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους ἐνίκησαν, Τυρση-
νοὺς Οὐόλσκους Ὀπικοὺς Λευκανοὺς Σαυνίτας
ἐχειρώσαντο, πᾶσαν ἑνὶ λόγῳ[2] τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν
Ἄλπεων γῆν κατεστρέψαντο, πάντας τοὺς ἀλλο-
38 φύλους τοὺς ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ

[1] μετ' ἀπραξίας Oddey, μετὰ εὐπραξίας L.
[2] ἑνὶ λόγῳ Pflugk, ἐν ὀλίγῳ L.

in them, nor are you indifferent toward them, that B.C. 58 you require exhortation. I say it because I have ascertained that some of the soldiers are themselves noisily talking to the effect that this war we have undertaken is none of our business, and are stirring up the rest to sedition. My purpose is that you yourselves may as a result of my words make more unswerving the zeal you have for your country and may also teach the others their whole duty. For they will be benefited more by hearing it from you individually and repeatedly than they would from learning it but once from my lips. Tell them, then, that it was not by staying at home or shirking their campaigns or avoiding their wars or pursuing their ease that our ancestors made the city so great, but it was by bringing their minds to venture readily all that they ought to do and their bodies to work out eagerly all all the plans they had determined upon; by risking their own possessions as if they belonged to others, but acquiring readily the possessions of their neighbours as their own, while they thought that happiness was nothing else than doing their duty, and held that misfortune was nothing else than resting inactive.

"It was in consequence of these principles, therefore, that those men, who were in the beginning very few and dwelt in a city as small as any at first, conquered the Latins, subdued the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volscians, Oscans, Lucanians and Samnites, in a word, subjugated the whole land south of the Alps, and repulsed all the foreign tribes that came

αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι οἵ τε πατέρες ἡμῶν ζηλώσαντες οὐκ ἠρκέσθησαν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐδ' ἠγάπησαν οἷς παρέλαβον, ἀλλ' ὄλεθρον μὲν αὐτῶν σαφῆ τὴν ῥᾳστώνην, σωτηρίαν δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν νομίσαντες εἶναι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὲν μὴ μείναντα αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν[1] κατατριφθείη καὶ καταγηράσειεν, αἰσχυνθέντες[2] δὲ εἰ τοσαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι μηδὲν ἐπικτήσαιντο,
2 πολλῷ πλείω καὶ μείζω προσκατειργάσαντο. τί γὰρ ἄν τις καθ' ἕκαστον λέγοι τὴν Σαρδώ, τὴν Σικελίαν, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυριούς, τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, Βιθυνούς, Ἴβηρας, Ἄφρους; καίτοι συχνὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι ὥστε μὴ ἐκεῖσε ἐκπλεῦσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεὺς ὥστε μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, πολλὰ Ἀντίοχος, πολλὰ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγγονοι
3 ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταμεῖναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι πρό τε τῆς δόξης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀργεῖν τε ἀκλεῶς καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀδεῶς εἵλοντο, οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ὄντες, ἀλλ' ἅτε[3] εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ[4] τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτᾶται τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σώζεται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προϋπαρχόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσεκτή-
4 σαντο. τί γὰρ δεῖ κἀνταῦθα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι τὴν Κρήτην, τὸν Πόντον, τὴν Κύπρον, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν Ἀσιανήν,[5] τὴν Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, Σύρους ἀμφοτέρους, Ἀρμενίους ἑκατέρους,

[1] ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν Rk., ἐφ' ἑαυτὰ L.
[2] καταγηράσειεν αἰσχυνθέντες Bk., καταγηράσηι ἐναισχυνθέντες L.
[3] ἀλλ' ἅτε Bk., ἀλλά τε L.
[4] διὰ Bk., διά τε L.
[5] Ἀσιανήν Bk., ἀσίαν L.

against them. The later Romans, likewise, and our own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with what they had nor content with what they had inherited, but regarding sloth as their sure destruction and hardship as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would waste away of themselves and wear out with age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to add nothing to it; accordingly they effected much greater and more numerous conquests. But why mention individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyria, Greece, Ionian Asia, Bithynia, Spain, and Africa? And yet the Carthaginians would have given them much money not to extend their voyages thither, and much would Philip and Perseus have given to keep them from making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his sons and grandsons would have given much, to have them remain in Europe. But those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in security, nor did the older men of our own generation who even now are still alive; nay, as men who well knew that advantages are preserved by the same methods by which they are acquired, they made sure of many of their original possessions and also acquired many new ones. But here again, why catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrias, the two B.C. 58

Ἀραβίους, Παλαιστίνους; ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτοὶ δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἑτέροις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας προσειληφέναι.

39 "Τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἔχοντες παραδείγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἤδη οὖσαν προῆσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέον ἐστίν.
2 ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ ῥᾳστωνεύειν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἄλλοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι, ἡμῖν δ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ πονεῖν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ[1] γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν[2] αὐτῇ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραῖρόν τινας καὶ ζηλοῦται καὶ φθονεῖται, κἀκ τούτου πόλεμος ἀίδιός ἐστιν ἅπασι τοῖς καταδεεστέροις πρὸς τοὺς ἔν τινι
3 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας. ἢ[3] οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐχρῆν μηδὲν διαφερόντως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ηὐξῆσθαι, ἤ, ἐπείπερ τηλικοῦτοι γεγόναμεν καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκτήμεθα, πέπρωταί τε ἢ ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῶς ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι (τοῖς γὰρ ἔς τε ἀξίωμα τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεχωρηκόσιν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀκινδύνως ἰδιωτεῦσαι), πειθώμεθα τῇ τύχῃ, μηδὲ ἑκοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτεπάγγελτον τοῖς τε πατράσιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρξασαν καὶ ἡμῖν
4 παραμένουσαν ἀπωσώμεθα. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψωμεν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰς τάξεις ἐκλίπω-

[1] πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοί τε L.
[2] ἐπιβουλεύουσιν Wagner, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν L. [3] ἢ Rk., μὴ L.

Armenias, Arabia, and Palestine? Countries whose very names we did not know precisely in former times we now rule, lording it over some ourselves and having bestowed others upon various persons, so that we have gained from them revenues and troops and honour and alliances. B.C. 58

"With such examples before you, now, do not bring shame upon the deeds of the fathers nor let slip the empire which is already the greatest. We cannot even deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who have no possessions like ours. For them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subject to others, but for us it is necessary to toil, to make campaigns, and to incur danger in guarding our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting, since everything that lifts people above their fellows arouses both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal warfare is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any way. Hence either we ought not in the first place to have grown powerful beyond other men, or else, since we have become so great and have gained so many possessions, it is fated for us either to rule our subjects firmly or to perish utterly ourselves. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to such distinction and to power so vast to live to themselves without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and at her own behest was present with our fathers and now abides with us. But this result will not be attained if we cast away our arms or desert

μεν,[1] *οὐδ' ἂν διὰ κενῆς οἴκοι καθώμεθα*[2] *ἢ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλανώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἂν τά τε ὅπλα διὰ χειρὸς ἀεὶ ἔχωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως εἰρήνη σώζεται) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κινδύνων ἀσκῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως οὐκ ἀεὶ πολε-*
5 *μήσομεν), τοῖς τε δεομένοις τῶν συμμάχων ἀπροφασίστως ἐπικουρῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ πολὺ πλείους ἕξομεν) καὶ τοῖς ἀεί τι παρακινοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων*[3] *μὴ ἐπιτρέπωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἔθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσει).*

40 *"Εἰ μὲν γάρ τις τῶν θεῶν ἐγγυητὴς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅτι, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ*[4] *ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἂν ἦν*[5] *εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐχρῆν, ὅμως δ' οὖν εἶχον ἄν τινα σκῆψιν εὐπρεπῆ οἱ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράτ-*
2 *τειν βουλόμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τε τοὺς κεκτημένους τινὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, καὶ προσήκει τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἡσυχάζοντες καὶ περὶ τούτοις κινδυνεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων*[6] *χρώμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυ-*
3 *λάσσουσιν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ περὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεδιὼς τῶν τοῦ πέλας ἐφίεται· ὁ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οἱ φόβος ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπει), τί τοῦτο λέγει τις,*[7] *ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἀεί τι προσκτᾶσθαι;*

[1] ἐκλίπωμεν Dind., ἐκλείψωμεν L.
[2] καθώμεθα Pflugk, καθήμεθα L.
[3] πολεμίων Xyl., πολέμων L.
[4] μὴ supplied by Xyl. [5] ἦν supplied by Pflugk.
[6] ἀλλοτρίων Xyl., ἀλλοβριγων L.
[7] λέγει τις Rk., λέγεις τις L.

or sit idly at home or even wander about visiting B.C. 58 our allies; it will be attained if we keep our arms constantly in hand (this is the only way to preserve peace), practise the deeds of war by actual fighting (this is the only way we shall not be forever having war), aid unhesitatingly those of our allies who ask for aid (in this way we shall get many more), and do not indulge those of our enemies who are always turbulent (in this way no one will any longer care to wrong us).

"What though some god had become our surety that even if we should fail to do all this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would then have some show of excuse. But if, as a matter of fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and if it behooves them to anticipate their attacks; if those who hold quietly to their own possessions risk losing even these, while those who without any compulsion employ war to acquire the possessions also of others are protecting their own as well,—for no one who fears for his own goods covets those of his neighbour, since his fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him from meddling in what does not belong to him,—if all this be true, why, then, does any one say that we ought not always to be acquiring something more?

4 "Οὐ μέμνησθε, τὰ μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες,
ὅτι οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον
ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν
τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ τοὺς προγόνους
ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε οἱ Ἠπειρῶται πρὶν ἐς τὴν
5 Ἑλλάδα αὐτοὺς περαιωθῆναι; οὐ Φίλιππος μελ-
λήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσειν, πρὶν
φθάσαντας τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιῆσαι· οὐ Περ-
σεύς, οὐκ Ἀντίοχος, οὐ Μιθριδάτης, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ
αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ τί τἆλλα λέγοι τις ἄν;
6 ἀλλ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τέως μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἀφ'
ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἶχον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν
διέπλεον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τάς τε πόλεις
ἐπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτὸ εἷλον,
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀντιπολεμεῖσθαι ἤρξαντο, παντάπασιν
7 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα
καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἄν τις εἰπεῖν
ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλ-
πεων ἐμένομεν,[1] πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ
πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτολμή-
σαμέν ποτε ἔξω τε τῶν ὅρων ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ
τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι περιστῆσαι, καί τινα καὶ τῆς
χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμόμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὐδένα πόλε-
μον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πλὴν ἅπαξ, εἴδομεν.
8 ὅταν οὖν τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων λέγῃ τις ὅτι οὐ
χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν ἢ ὅτι
οὐ χρὴ πλουτεῖν, οὐ χρὴ ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἐλευ-
9 θέρους, οὐ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄν, εἴπερ
τι τούτων εἶπέ τις, οὐκ ἂν ἠνέσχεσθε ἀλλὰ κἂν
ἐν χερσὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ὦ
ἄνδρες ἑταῖροι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνα λέγοντας δια-

[1] ἐμένομεν Oddey, ἔμενον L.

BOOK XXXVIII

"Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and partly from observation, that none of the Italian races stopped plotting against our country until our ancestors carried the wars into their territory, nor yet the Epirots until our fathers crossed over into Greece? Nor Philip, who intended to make a campaign even against Italy, until they harried his land first; nor Perseus, or Antiochus, or Mithridates, until they treated them in the same way? And why mention the other instances? But take the Carthaginians; so long as they suffered no disaster at our hands in Africa, they kept crossing into Italy, overrunning the country, sacking the towns, and almost captured the city itself; but when they began to have war made upon them, they fled altogether from our land. One might instance the same results in the case of the Gauls and Germans. For these peoples, while we remained on our side of the Alps, often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy; but when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond our own borders and to bring the war home to them, and also took away a part of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy, except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans. Therefore, just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, comrades, you must feel the same way toward those who make these other B.C. 58

τίθεσθε, μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασί σφων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις
τὸν νοῦν τεκμαιρόμενοι.
"Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρὴ φρονεῖν, οὐδέν' ἂν[1]
41 ἀντειπεῖν ὑμῶν[2] νομίζω· εἰ δ' ὅτι μήτε ἐξήτα-
σται περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου παρὰ[3] τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μὴ ἐψήφισται, διὰ τοῦτό τις
ἧττον οἴεται δεῖν ἡμᾶς προθυμηθῆναι, λογισάσθω
τοῦθ',[4] ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὅσοι πώποτε γεγόνα-
σιν ἡμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ προεπαγ-
2 γέλσεως οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβεβήκασι. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα μὲν ἂν[5] οἴκοι τε μενόντων ἡμῶν
καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων κινηθῇ καὶ ἐκ πρεσβείας
τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβῃ, καὶ
σκέψιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι
γίγνεσθαι καὶ ψῆφον ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
τούς τε ὑπάτους ἢ καὶ στρατηγοὺς προστάτ-
3 τεσθαί σφισι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι· ὅσα
δ' ἂν ἐξεληλυθότων ἤδη καὶ ἐξεστρατευμένων
τινῶν ἐκφανῇ, ταῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς διαγνώμην ἄγεσθαι
χρή, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ δεδογμένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὑπ'
αὐτῆς τῆς χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν
αὐξηθῆναι.
4 "Ἢ τίνος μὲν ἕνεκα ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος
ἐξέπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἕνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν
εὐθὺς ἔστειλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη καθάπαξ,
ὃ μήπω πρότερον ἐγεγόνει, ἄρχειν ἑλόμενος, τοῦτο
δὲ τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις ὁπλίσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ
5 πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἡμᾶς δεήσειν ἐνόμιζεν; οὐ γάρ
που ἵνα μάτην τρεφώμεθα, οὐδ' ἵνα τάς τε πόλεις

[1] οὐδέν' ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα L. [2] ὑμῶν Bk., ὑμῖν L.
[3] παρὰ Rk., παρά τε L. [4] τοῦθ' Pflugk, ταῦθ' L.
[5] ἂν added by Bk.

statements, judging their disposition not by their words but by their deeds. B.C. 58

"Therefore none of you will contend, I think, that this is not the right point of view to take. If, however, any one thinks that because no investigation has been made of this war in the senate and no vote has been passed in the assembly we need be less eager, let him reflect that while some, to be sure, of the many wars which have fallen to our lot, have come about as a result of preparation and previous announcement, yet others have occurred on the spur of the moment. For this reason all uprisings that are made while we are staying at home and keeping quiet, in which the beginning of the complaints arises from some embassy, both call for and demand an inquiry into their nature and the taking of a vote, after which the consuls and praetors must be assigned to them and the forces sent out; but all that come to light after commanders have already gone forth and taken the field are no longer to be brought up for decision, but to be taken in hand promptly, before they increase, as matters decreed and ratified by the very urgency of the crisis.

"Else for what reason did the people send you hither, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness, or that making visits to the allied cities

τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπήκοον περιιόντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς γιγνώμεθα,—οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν,—ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάξωμεν, ἵνα[1] τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πορθήσωμεν, ἵν' ἄξιόν τι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ
6 τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὁστισοῦν ἄλλος καὶ ἐπιτέτραπται ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγκεχείρισται. καὶ πάνυ γε φρονίμως ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ τίσι πολεμητέον εἶναι διαγνῶναι καταλιπόντες καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόλεμον ψηφισάμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀκριβῶσαι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον[2] αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες ἠδυνήθησαν ἄν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους[3] τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἂν
7 ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδείως προσηνέχθησαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ κριταὶ ἅμα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ πολέμου γιγνόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὰ ὅπλα εὐθὺς ἐπιφέροντες, οὔτ' ἀνεξετάστως οὔτ' ἀδίκως οὔτ' ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα.

42 "Καί μοι εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ τηλικοῦτον ὁ Ἀριόουιστος πεπλημμέληκεν ὥστ' ἀντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου πολέμιος ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, σκοπείτω τοῦθ', ὅτι τοὺς ἀδικεῖν τι ἐπιχειροῦντας οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ποιοῦσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς φρονοῦσιν ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ, καὶ τήν τε αὔξησιν αὐτῶν πρὶν καὶ βλαβῆναί τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ περιμείναντας κακῶς ἔργῳ παθεῖν, τότε τιμω-
2 ρεῖσθαι. ὅτι τοίνυν καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἔχθιστός ἐστιν ἡμῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθείη ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἐποίησεν; πέμψαντος γάρ μου πρὸς αὐτὸν φι-

[1] ἵνα added by Bk. [2] τοσοῦτον Cobet, καὶ τοσοῦτον L.
[3] προπαρεσκευασμένους Pflugk, πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους L.

and our subject territory, we should prove a worse bane to them even than their enemies. Nobody would make this assertion. It was rather that we might protect our own land, ravage that of the enemy, and accomplish something worthy both of our numbers and our expenditures. With this understanding, therefore, both this war and every other whatsoever have been assigned and entrusted to us. They acted very sensibly in leaving in our hands the decision as to whom we should fight, instead of voting for the war themselves. For they would not have been able to understand thoroughly the affairs of our allies, being at such a distance from them, and would not have taken measures with equal opportuneness against enemies who were already informed and prepared. So we, on whom has devolved at once the decision and the carrying out of the war, and who are turning our weapons promptly against foes actually in the field, shall not be waging the war without investigation or unjustly or incautiously. B.C. 58

"But suppose, now, some one of you should answer me with this objection: 'What wrong has Ariovistus done so great that he should have become an enemy of ours in place of a friend and ally?' Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one's self against those who are undertaking to do a wrong not merely on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth promptly, before suffering any injury, instead of waiting until the wrong is actually done and then taking vengeance. Now how could it better be proved that he is hostile, nay, most hostile toward us than by what he has done? I sent

λικῶς ὅπως ἔλθῃ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοινῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν βουλεύσηται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, οὔτ' ἦλθεν
3 *οὔθ' ἥξειν ὑπέσχετο. καίτοι τί μὲν ἐγὼ ἄδικον ἢ ἀνεπιεικὲς ἢ φορτικὸν ἐποίησα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ὡς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὕβρεως καὶ ἀσελγείας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἐλθεῖν, ἐκλέλοιπεν; ἆρ' οὐ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἤτοι ὑπωπτευκότα αὐτόν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ἢ ὑπερ-*
4 *πεφρονηκότα ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι; οὐκοῦν εἴτε τι ὑποτετόπηκεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξελέγχει ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἡμῖν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν μηδὲν δεινὸν παθὼν ὕποπτός ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γνώμης γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ προπαρεσκευασμένοι τινὰς ἀδικῆσαι ἑτοίμην τὴν ὑποψίαν*
5 *κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν ἔχουσιν· εἴτ' αὖ μηδενὸς τοιούτου ὑπόντος ὑπερεόρακέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνοις ὕβρικε, τί*[1] *χρὴ τοῦτον, ἐπειδὰν ἔργου τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκῆσαι πράξειν; ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς μηδὲν κερδανεῖν ἔμελλε τοσαύτῃ ὑπεροψίᾳ κεχρημένος πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἐξελήλεγκται μηδὲν δίκαιον μήτε φρονῶν μήτε πράσσων;*

"Οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὑτὸν[2] *ἐκέλευσεν, εἴπερ τι αὐτοῦ*
43 *δεοίμην. καὶ μή μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην εἶναι νομίσητε· μεγάλη γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίδειξις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθελῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τάχ' ἄν τις καὶ ὄκνῳ καὶ ἀρρωστίᾳ καὶ φόβῳ, ἀπολογούμενος*
2 *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθηκε· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ μεταπέμψασθαι οὔτε σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδέχεται, καὶ*

[1] *τί* Bk., *τίνα* L. [2] *αὑτὸν* Bk., *αὐτὸν* L.

to him in a friendly way to bid him come to us and consult with us about present conditions, and he neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unseemly or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness, on the other hand, has he failed to show in refusing to come! Is it not inevitable that he did this for one of two reasons—either that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for us? Now if he felt any suspicion, he convicts himself most clearly of conspiring against us; for no one, when he has suffered no injury, is suspicious towards us, nor does one become so with an upright and guileless mind; rather, it is those who have prepared themselves to wrong others because of their own conscience that harbour suspicion against them. If, on the other hand, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, does he not stand convicted from afar off of utter injustice both in thought and in deed? B.C. 58

"Not content, now, with this, he further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as any light matter; for it is weighty as an indication of his disposition. As for his refusing to come to us, one speaking in his defence might ascribe this to hesitation, or infirmity, or fear; but his summoning me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves that he

προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτὸν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεποιηκότα ἢ ὅτι οὔθ' ὑπακούειν ἐς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπιτάττειν πάντα παρε-
3 *σκεύασται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὕβρεως καὶ πόσου προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν ἐστιν; μεταπέμπεταί τινα ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔρχεται· μεταπέμπεταί τις[1] τὸν ἀνθύπατον τὸν[2] Ῥωμαίων Ἀλλόβριξ ὤν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη, μηδ' ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρόν τι τοῦτο καὶ*
4 *φαῦλον εἶναι νομίσητε. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἱ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὔτε ἐγὼ μετεπέμφθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδέν ἐστι συμβόλαιον·[3] κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πάντες καὶ εἴπομέν τι καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ ἀντηκούσαμεν καὶ ἀντεπάθομεν.*[4]

44 *"Ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ἀναγεγράφθαι φήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀξιομίσητον ὄντα ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἷα μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθίστων τις ὁμολογούντων ἡμῖν εἶναι ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ὀνόμασιν ἐξείργασται, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένος αὐτάς, ἵν' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἀδεῶς*
2 *ἔχῃ. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ἐσπεισάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε νῦν αὐτοὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσομεν· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπρε-*

[1] τις R. Steph., τι L. [2] τὸν v. Herw., τῶν L.
[3] συμβόλαιον Oddey, συμβούλιον L.
[4] ἀντεπάθομεν v. Herw., ἐπάθομεν L.

acted in the first instance from no other motive B.C. 58
than a determination to yield us obedience in nothing and furthermore to make corresponding demands in every case. And yet with what insolence and contumely does this very course of his teem! The proconsul of the Romans summons a man and he does not come; then some one summons the proconsul of the Romans—an Allobrogian![1] Do not regard it as a slight matter and of little moment that he failed to obey me, Caesar, or that he summoned me, Caesar. For it was not I who summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the fasces, the authority, the legions; it was not I who was summoned by him, but all these. Privately I have no relations with him, but in common we have all spoken and acted, received his retort and suffered his scorn.

"Therefore the more anybody asserts that he has been enrolled among our friends and among our allies, the more he will prove him to deserve our hatred. Why? Because deeds such as not even any of those who are avowedly our bitterest foes has ever ventured to do have been committed by Ariovistus under the names of friendship and of alliance, as if he had secured these for the very purpose of having a chance to wrong us with impunity. But it was not to be insulted and plotted against that we made our treaty with him at the time, nor will it be ourselves who now break the truce. For we sent envoys to him as to one who was still a friend

[1] Possibly an error on the part of Dio himself.

σβευσάμεθα, ὁ δ' ὁρᾶτε ὅπως ἡμῖν κέχρηται·
3 ὥσπερ οὖν ἡνίκα εὐεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο
κἀντ' εὖ πάσχειν ἠξίου, δικαίως ἐκείνων ἐτύγ-
χανεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τἀναντία αὐτῶν
πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαιότατα ἂν ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει νομι-
σθείη. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε εἰ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πρότερόν
ποτε καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσας
4 τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα ταυτὶ νυνὶ λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν
γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ
οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δέ ἐστιν αὕτη; τοὺς μὲν
ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι,
τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ
ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος δέ ἐστιν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος,
ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ
παρ' ἡμῶν χρώμενος.

45 "Ὥσθ' ὅτι μὲν δικαιότατα ἂν αὐτῷ πολεμή-
σαιμεν, οὐδένα ἀμφισβητήσειν οἴομαι· ὅτι δὲ
οὔτε ἄμαχος οὔτε δυσπολέμητός ἐστιν, ὁρᾶτε μὲν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οὓς
πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ῥᾷστα δὲ καὶ νῦν
ἐνικήσαμεν, λογίζεσθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν περὶ αὐτοῦ
2 ἐκείνου πυνθανόμεθα. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δύναμίν
τινα οἰκείαν συνεστηκυῖαν καὶ συγκεκροτημένην
ἔχει· νῦν τε, ἅτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκῶν, καὶ
παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευός ἐστιν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐκ
τῶν ὁμοχώρων ἄν τις αὐτῷ[1] προθύμως, οὐδ' εἰ
3 πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοηθήσειε· τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν
ἕλοιτο ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσας πολεμῆσαι ἡμῖν, μηδὲν
ὑφ' ἡμῶν λελυπημένος; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον
ἡμῖν πάντες ἢ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τήν τε τυραν-
νίδα αὐτοῦ ὅμορόν σφισιν οὖσαν καταλῦσαι καὶ

[1] αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτὸν L.

and ally, but as to him—see how he has treated us! B.C. 58
Accordingly, just as when he chose to benefit us and desired to be well treated in return, he justly obtained his wishes, so now, likewise, when he pursues the opposite course in everything, he would most justly be regarded in the light of a foe. Do not be surprised that I, who myself once looked after some of his interests both in the senate and in the assembly, now speak in this way. So far as I am concerned, I am of the same mind now as then, and am not changing. And what is that? To honour and reward the good and faithful, but to dishonour and punish the evil and unfaithful. It is he that is changing front, in that he does not make a fair and proper use of the privileges bestowed by us.

"Therefore, that we should go to war with him most justly, no one I think will dispute. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary, you can see both from the other members of his race, whom we have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can reason further from what we learn about the man himself. For he has no force of his own at any time that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is looking for nothing serious, he is utterly unprepared. Hence, no one of his countrymen even would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers; for who would choose to be his ally and fight against us, if he had not received any injury at our hands? Would they not all, rather, coöperate with us, instead of with him, in the desire of overthrowing his

τῆς χώρας μέρος τι παρ' ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐθελή-
4 σειαν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταῖέν τινες, οὔτι γε καὶ
κρείττους ἂν ἡμῶν γένοιντο. ἵνα γὰρ τἆλλα ἐάσω,
τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ
ἔργα, ἐκεῖνό γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ
πᾶν[1] ὁμοίως τὸ σῶμα ὡπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ
γυμνοὶ τὸ πλεῖστόν εἰσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λο-
γισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ
5 πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γάρ τοι
μήτε τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τῶν
σωμάτων ἢ τῆς βοῆς φοβηθῆτε. φωνή τε γὰρ
οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σώ-
ματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον, ἅτε τὰς αὐτὰς
ἡμῖν χεῖρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλείω, ἅτε
καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ ὄντα, δυνήσεται· ἥ τε ὁρμὴ
ἄμετρος καὶ προπετὴς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὖσα καὶ
46 ἐκκενοῦται ῥᾳδίως καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀνθεῖ. πε-
πειραμένοις δέ που ὧν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ὑμῖν
τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ταυτὶ παραινῶ, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς
μήτε τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ
τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχυρωτάτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐκ
2 τῶν προκατειργασμένων ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι
καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι συχνοὶ
ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν, ὥστ' εἰ καί τι φοβερὸν τὰ
ἔθνη ταῦτα εἶχε, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις[2]
ὑπάρξει.

"Ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοί τε οὕτω λογίζεσθε καὶ τοὺς
3 ἄλλους διδάσκετε· ὡς εἴ γε καὶ ὑμῶν τινες ἄλλως
πως φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ ὣς πολεμήσω,
οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθην

[1] πᾶν Rk., πανθ' L. [2] ἐκείνοις R. Steph., ἐκείνων L.

despotic rule on their very borders, and of obtaining B.C. 58
from us some share of his territory? And even if some should band together, they would not prove superior to us in any way. For, to omit other considerations,—our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds,—who does not know that we have armour over all our body alike, whereas they are for the most part unprotected, and that we employ both reason and organization, whereas they are unorganized and rush at everything impulsively? Do not, then, fear their violence nor yet the magnitude either of their bodies or their shouting. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as ours, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater injury through being both large and unprotected. And though their charge is tremendous and headlong at first, it easily exhausts itself and is effective for but a short while. To you who have of course experienced what I mention and have conquered men like them I make these suggestions, so that you may not seem to have been misled by my words, but may really feel a most steadfast hope of victory as a result of your former exploits. However, a great many of the very Gauls who are like them will be our allies, so that even if these nations did have anything terrible about them, we shall possess that advantage in common with them.

"Do you, then, look at matters in this light yourselves, and also instruct the rest. For that matter, even if some of you do feel differently, I, for my part, will fight just the same and will never abandon the post to which I have been assigned by my country.

ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καί μοι[1] τὸ δέκατον στρατόπεδον ἀρκέσει· καὶ γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κἂν διὰ πυρὸς
4 δέῃ καὶ γυμνοὶ χωρήσουσι προθύμως. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγάγετε, μηδέ μοι μάτην ἐνταῦθα τρύχεσθε,[2] τά τε κοινὰ εἰκῇ ἀναλίσκοντες καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων μεταποιούμενοι, τήν τε λείαν τὴν[3] ὑφ' ἑτέρων κτωμένην σφετεριζόμενοι."

47 Ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστά τινες[4] τἀναντία σφίσιν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνῄνεσαν πάντες, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ[5] δι' ὑποψίας αὐτῷ ὄντες, λογοποιεῖν ἃ ἤκουσαν. καὶ τούς γε[6] στρατιώτας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπεισαν πειθαρχῆσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προκεκρίσθαι προθυμουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
2 δι' ἐκείνους φιλοτιμουμένους. ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ τὸ δέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὔνοιάν πως ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξιν ὠνομάζετο· ὅθενπερ καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἔχει.

3 Ὡρμημένων οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, μὴ καὶ χρονίσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι αὖθις γένωνται, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριόουιστον ἤλασε. καὶ οὕτω γε[6] αὐτὸν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐφόδου κατέπληξεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς λόγους οἱ
4 ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐλθεῖν κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν· αὐτός τε γὰρ πάντα προστάξαι καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ὑπακοῦσαι ἠθέλησεν. ὅ τε οὖν πόλεμος συνερρώγει, καὶ μετέωροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ

[1] καί μοι Pflugk, καί τοι L.
[2] τρύχεσθε Bk., ἐντρύχεσθε L.
[3] τὴν Rk., καὶ τὴν L.
[4] τινες Rk., τινες ἐς L.
[5] οἱ R. Steph., ἡ L.
[6] γε Bk., τε L.

The tenth legion will be enough for me; I am sure that, if there should be any need of it, they would readily go through fire naked. The rest of you be off, the quicker the better, and let me not see you wearing yourselves out here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men's labours, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others." B.C. 58

At the end of this speech of Caesar's not only did no one raise an objection, even if some thought altogether the opposite, but they all agreed, especially those who were suspected by him, to spread the ideas they had heard. They had no difficulty in persuading the soldiers to yield obedience; some were eager to do so as a result of having been chosen in preference to others, and the rest were led to do the same through emulation of these. He had specially singled out the tenth legion because for some reason he always felt kindly toward it. This was the way the legions of the republic were named, according to the order of their enrolment; whence those of the present day have similar titles.

When their enthusiasm had been thus aroused, Caesar, in order that they might not grow indifferent again through delay, no longer remained stationary, but immediately set out and marched against Ariovistus. By the suddenness of his approach he so alarmed the latter that he forced him to hold a conference with him regarding peace. They did not come to terms, however, since Caesar wished to make all the demands and Ariovistus refused to obey any of them. The war consequently broke out; and not only were the two sides them-

ἑκάτεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἵ τε πολέμιοί σφων οἱ ἐκείνῃ πάντες ἦσαν, τήν τε μάχην αὐτῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἅπαξ κρατήσασι καὶ τἆλλα δουλεύσειν[1] *νομίζοντες. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ* Ῥωμαῖοι *τῇ τε ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ὁπλίσεσι· καί πως καὶ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν* Κελτῶν, *τήν τε ἄκριτον καὶ προπετῆ αὐτῶν ὁρμήν, ἀντίρροπον τὸ τοῦ* Καίσαρος *φρόνημα εὑρίσκετο, ὥστε ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐκ τούτων ὄντες καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τήν τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς προθυμίαν ἰσοστασίας ἐποιοῦντο.*

48 Ἀντικαθημένων *δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις, αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηγόρευσάν σφισι θειάσασαι μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς νέας σελήνης μάχην συνάψαι.*
2 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ* Ἀριόουιστος *(πάνυ γὰρ αὐταῖς προσεῖχεν ὁπότε τοιοῦτό τι ποιήσειαν) οὐχ ἁπάσῃ εὐθὺς τῇ δυνάμει, καίτοι τῶν* Ῥωμαίων *προκαλουμένων σφᾶς, συνέμιξεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἱππέας μετὰ τῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν μόνους ἐκπέμπων ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει. κἀκ τούτου καταφρονήσας χωρίον τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταφρεύματός σφων*
3 *καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ κατέσχε μὲν αὐτό, ἀντικαταλαβόντων δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἕτερον, ἐς μὲν μάχην, καίπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸν στρατὸν ἔξω τοῦ* Καίσαρος *παρατάξαντος, οὐχ ὥρμησεν, ἐπαναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπῆλθέ τε ἐξαπιναίως σφίσι καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ*
4 *τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτῶν εἷλε. προχωρούντων οὖν οὕτως οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων σμικρόν τε ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παραταξα-*

[1] δουλεύσειν H. Steph., δουλεύειν L.

selves in anxious suspense, but likewise all the allies and enemies of both sides in that region, since they felt sure that the battle between them would take place in the shortest possible time and that all would have to serve those who once conquered. The barbarians were superior in numbers and in physical size, the Romans in experience and in armour. To some extent also Caesar's prudence was found to counterbalance the fiery spirit of the Germans and their reckless and impetuous attack. As a result, then, of their being evenly matched in these respects, their hopes and their zeal based on these hopes were likewise in perfect balance. B.C. 58

While they were encamped opposite each other, the women of the barbarians as the result of their divinations, forbade the men to engage in any battle before the new moon. For this reason Ariovistus, who always paid great heed to them whenever they took any such action, did not immediately join in conflict with his entire force, although the Romans were challenging them to battle. Instead, he sent out the cavalry alone, with only the foot-soldiers assigned to them, and did the other side severe injury. Then, becoming contemptuous of them, he undertook to occupy a position above the Romans' entrenchments; this he seized, and his opponents occupied another in their turn. Then, although Caesar kept his army drawn up outside until noon, Ariovistus would not proceed to battle, but when, toward evening, the Romans retired, he suddenly attacked them and all but captured their rampart. Therefore, since affairs were turning out so well for him, he paid little heed any longer to the women; and on the following day, when the Romans had

μένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ που καθ' ἡμέραν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξήγαγε.

49 Καὶ *αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι προϊόντας ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἰδόντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ' ἐξάξαντες οὔτε συντάξασθαί σφισιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὴν ἀκόντισιν αὐτῶν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐθάρσουν, δρόμῳ μετὰ βοῆς προσπεσόντες ὑπετέ-*
2 *μοντο, καὶ οὕτω γε ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν ὥστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς κοντοῖς μήτε τοῖς ξίφεσι τοῖς μακροτέροις χρήσασθαι. ὠθίζοντό τε οὖν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμάχοντο, ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸν προσκείμενον καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸν*
3 *ἀνθεστηκότα ἀγῶνα ποιούμενοι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν βραχυτέρων ξιφῶν χρήσεως στερηθέντες ταῖς*[1] *τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἠγωνίζοντο, κατασπῶντες τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, δάκνοντες, σπαράττοντες, ἅτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σω-*
4 *μάτων πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλα τινὰ ἐκ τούτου σφᾶς ἔβλαψαν· συμπλεκόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ* Ῥωμαῖοι *ἰσόρροποί πως τῇ τε ὁπλίσει καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοιουτοτρόπῳ μάχῃ χρησάμενοι ὀψέ ποτε ἐπεκράτησαν· τά τε γὰρ ξιφίδια καὶ σμικρότερα τῶν* Γαλατικῶν *ὄντα καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς χαλυ-*
5 *βδικὰς ἔχοντα χρησιμώτατά σφισιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖον συσχεθέντες μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντήρκεσαν, ἅτε οὐχ ὅμοιον ταῖς ὀξύτησι τῶν ἐφόδων τὸ διαρκές σφων ἐχόντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἡττήθησαν ἐκεῖνοι,*

[1] *ταῖς* St., *τοῖς* L.

been drawn up in battle array, according to their daily custom, he led out his forces against them. B.C. 58

The Romans on seeing them advancing from their tents did not remain quiet, but rushing forward, gave them no chance to form strictly in line, and by attacking with a charge and shout prevented them from hurling their javelins, in which they had especial confidence; in fact, they came to so close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ either their pikes or long swords. So the barbarians pushed and shoved, fighting more with their bodies than with their weapons, and struggled to overturn whomever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many, deprived even of the use of their short swords, fought with hands and teeth instead, dragging down their opponents, and biting and tearing them, since they had a great advantage in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great injuries in consequence of this; they closed with their foes, and thanks to their armour and skill, somehow proved a match for them. At length, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, they prevailed late in the day. For their daggers, which were smaller than the Gallic daggers and had steel points, proved most serviceable to them; moreover, the men themselves, accustomed to hold out for a long time with the same sustained effort lasted better than the barbarians, because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Germans were accordingly defeated, though they

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀπορίας τε
6 ἅμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακοσίους καὶ πλείους καὶ ἐλάττους, τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἁπανταχόθεν σφῶν προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ὀρθοὶ ἱστάμενοι ἀπρόσμικτοι[1] μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλείσεως[2] δυσκίνητοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὔτε ἔδρων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπασχον.

50 Οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀντεπήεσάν σφισιν ἢ καὶ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μένοντες ὥσπερ ἐν πύργοις εἱστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τά τε δοράτια κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς ἅτε μηδεμίαν
2 χρῆσιν ἔχοντα ἀπετέθειντο, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ ἐδύναντο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, ᾗπερ καὶ μόνον ἁλωτοὶ οἷά που γυμναῖς αὐταῖς μαχόμενοι ἦσαν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι, τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπίπτοντές σφισιν, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐγγύθεν, ἐνήλλοντο[3]
3 τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἔκοπτον αὐτούς. κἀκ τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἅτε καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ὄντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὶν πεσεῖν ἀπέθνησκον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ
4 τεθνηκότες ὀρθοὶ ἀνείχοντο. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἁμάξαις, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωσθὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σύν τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν· ὁ δὲ[4] Ἀριόουιστος μεθ' ἱππέων . . . τήν τε χώραν παραχρῆμα ἐξέλιπε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥῆνον

[1] ἀπρόσμικτοι Xyl., πρόσμικτοι L.
[2] συγκλείσεως Leuncl., συγκλίσεως L.
[3] ἐνήλλοντο Cobet, ἀνήλλοντο L.
[4] ὁ δὲ R. Steph., ὁ δὲ ὁ L.

did not turn to flight—not that they lacked the wish, but simply because they were unable to flee through helplessness and exhaustion. Gathering, therefore, in groups of three hundred, more or less, they would hold their shields before them on all sides, and standing erect, they proved unassailable by reason of their solid front and difficult to dislodge on account of their denseness; thus they neither inflicted nor suffered any harm. B.C. 58

The Romans, when their foes neither advanced against them nor yet fled, but stood immovable in the same spot, as if in towers,[1] had likewise put aside their spears at the very outset, since these were of no use; and as they could not with their swords either fight in close combat or reach the others' heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fought with their heads unprotected, they threw aside their shields and rushed upon the foe. Some by taking a running start and others from close at hand leaped up as it were upon the tower-like groups and rained blows upon them. Thereupon many fell immediately, victims of a single blow, and many died even before they fell; for they were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the waggons, back to which some had been driven; and with them perished their wives and children. Ariovistus with [a few][2] horsemen straightway left the country and set out for the

[1] Apparently the solid walls of shields, as the men stood in groups facing outward, are conceived of as the towers of a city wall.

[2] A word of this meaning seems required.

5 ὁρμήσας[1] ἐπεδιώχθη μέν, οὐ κατελήφθη δέ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσβαίνοντες[2] ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεγκεν.

[1] ὁρμήσας Rk., παραχρῆμα ὁρμήσας L.
[2] ἐσβαίνοντες Bk., ἐσβαίνοντας L.

Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and escaped on a boat ahead of his followers; of the rest some were killed by the Romans who advanced into the river, while others were seized and borne away by the river itself. B.C. 58

BOOK XXXIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν.

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Βελγικοῖς[1] ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ὡς Κικέρων κατῆλθεν.
γ. Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπεσὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνῆλθεν.
δ. Ὡς Κάτων τὰ ἐν Κύπρῳ κατεστήσατο.
ε. Ὡς Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ὕπατοι ᾑρέθησαν.
ϛ. Ὡς τὸ θέατρον τὸ Πομπηίου καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς Δέκιμος[2] Βροῦτος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Οὐενετοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ὡς Πούπλιος Κράσσος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Ἀκυϊτανοῖς ἐπολέμησεν.
ι. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Κελτῶν τισι πολεμήσας τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβη· καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου.
κ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἐπεραιώθη· καὶ περὶ τῆς νήσου.
λ. Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβινίου ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατήχθη, καὶ ὡς ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρίθη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος Σπινθήρ
Κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υἱ Μέτελλος Νέπως ὑπ.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος Μαρκελλῖνος
Λ. Μάρκιος[3] Λ. υἱ. Φίλιππος ὑπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. υἱ. Μάγνος τὸ β̄
Μ. Λικίννιος Π. υἱ. Κράσσος τὸ β̄ ὑπ.

Λ. Δομίτιος Γν. υἱ. Ἀηνόβαρβος[4]
Ἀππ. Κλαύδιος Ἀππ. υἱ. Ποῦλχρος ὑπ.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεπολεμήθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ Κορνήλιός τε Σπινθὴρ καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο

[1] Βελγικοῖς Leuncl., βελτικοῖς L, and so just below.
[2] Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμιος L.

BOOK XXXIX

The following is contained in the Thirty-ninth of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:—

B.C.
57 P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Spinther, C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Nepos.
56 Cn. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius L. F. Philippus.
55 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (II), M. Licinius P. F. Crassus (II).
54 L. Domitius Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, App. Claudius App. F. Pulcher.

SUCH was the end of this war. Later, at the end of the winter in which Cornelius Spinther and Metellus Nepos began their consulship, a third war B.C. 57

[3] Μάρκιος Xyl., μάρκος L.
[4] Ἀηνόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀννόβαρβος L.

διελθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τε Ῥήνῳ πολλοῖς καὶ συμμίκτοις
2 γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὶν οἱ μὲν ἔνσπονδοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν οἱ δὲ ἐφρόντιζον αὐτῶν οὐδέν, τότε δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα εὖ φερόμενον ἰδόντες, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁρμήσῃ, συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινῷ πλὴν Ῥημῶν[1] λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεβουλεύσαντό τε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν[2] προστησάμενοι.

3 Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρὰ τῶν Ῥημῶν[1] μαθὼν ἐν φρουρᾷ τε αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τῷ Αὐξούννῳ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἤθροιζέ τε ἅμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐξήσκει. οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε πρότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις, καίτοι τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατατρέχουσιν, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν,
4 πρὶν ὡς καὶ δεδιότος αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντες ἐπεχείρησαν τήν τε γέφυραν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ἣν δι' αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποιεῖτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ αὐτομόλων προγνοὺς ἐσόμενον, ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς
2 τούς τε ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. καὶ οἱ μὲν προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδόκητοι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ὥστε πάντας τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Αἴδουοι ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἠγγέλλοντο, ἀπαναστῆναι· Καῖσαρ δὲ ᾔσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνόμενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δέ σφας εὐθύς, ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν

[1] Ῥημῶν Xyl., ῥηνῶν L.
[2] συνώμοσαν Γάλβαν Bk., συνωμόσαντο ἀδρὰν L.

arose. The Belgae, who dwelt near the Rhine in many mixed tribes and extended even to the ocean opposite Britain, though they had previously been at peace with the Romans, or, in the case of some, had paid no heed to them, observing now Caesar's success and fearing that he might advance against them also, came together and by common agreement, except on the part of the Remi, devised plans against the Romans and formed a league, placing Galba at their head. B.C. 57

Caesar learned this from the Remi and stationed outposts to watch them; later he encamped beside the river Axona, where he concentrated his troops and drilled them. Yet he did not venture to come to close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until in their contempt for him, believing him to be afraid, they undertook to occupy the bridge and to put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was apprised beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and so at night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. These fell upon the barbarians, taking them by surprise, and killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew to their own land, especially since the Aedui were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not venture to pursue

2 χωρίων, ἐπιδιῶξαι. ἀλλ' ἅμα ἔφ[1] τήν τε ἵππον λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπακολουθεῖν κελεύσας κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐς μάχην (ἐνομίζετο γὰρ σὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἵππῳ εἶναι) διέτριψε μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἦλθε, καὶ οὕτω παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περισχὼν τούς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ τοὺς περιλοίπους ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεὶ προσηγάγετο τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ.

3 Νέρουιοι οὖν τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι) ἑκόντες αὐτῷ ἐξέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑλωδέστατα ἀνακομισθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν[2] ἐπικατέδραμον ἀνέλπιστοι, καὶ καθ' ὃ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἔφυγον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ καθυπέρτεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοεὶ εἷλον.
2 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος (προεκεχωρήκει[3] γὰρ[4] ἐπί τι[5] τοὺς τετραμμένους διώκων) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι ἁρπαγὴν ποιουμένους περιεστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφόνευσε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἔτι[6] μέγα ἔργον τοὺς λοιποὺς Νερουίους χειρούμενος ἔσχε.

4 Κἂν τούτῳ Ἀτουατικοί, πλησιόχωροί τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸ γένος τό τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κίμβρων ἔχοντες, ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντές σφισιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφθησαν προαλόντες, ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ πάντα τἆλλα χωρία ἐκλιπόντες ἐς ἓν
2 τεῖχος τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο. καὶ αὐτῷ

[1] ἔφ supplied by Bk.
[2] The text is corrupt here, some words having fallen out.
[3] προεκεχωρήκει Oddey, προσεχωρήκει L.
[4] γὰρ added by Oddey. [5] ἐπί τι Rk., ἐπί τε L.
[6] ἔτι Xyl., ὅτι L.

them immediately. At daybreak, however, taking the cavalry, and bidding the infantry follow on behind, he came up with the fugitives; and when they offered battle, supposing he had come with his cavalry alone, he delayed them until his infantry arrived. In this way, having his whole army, he surrounded them, cut down the larger part, and received the surrender of the remainder. Thereupon he won over a number of their towns, some without fighting and some by war. B.C. 57

The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from the level country, as they were no match for his forces, and betook themselves into the most densely wooded mountains; then, when . . . . . . they charged down upon them unexpectedly.[1] In the part of the battle where Caesar himself was they soon turned and fled, but with the larger part of their army they proved superior and captured the camp without a blow. When Caesar, who had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, became aware of this, he turned back and came upon them as they were engaged in pillage within the entrenchments, where he surrounded and slaughtered them. After this success he found it no great task to subdue the rest of the Nervii.

Meanwhile the Aduatuci, near neighbours of theirs, who belonged to the Cimbri by race and temperament, set out to assist them, but were overpowered before they accomplished anything, whereupon they withdrew, and leaving all their other sites, established themselves in one fortified town, the strongest they had. Caesar assaulted it, but was

[1] Cf. Caesar *B.G.* ii. 19. Editors have filled the lacuna with a variety of readings.

τὸν Καίσαρα προσβαλόντα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
ἀπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς μηχανῶν ποίησιν
ἐτράπετο. τότε γάρ, τέως μὲν τήν τε ὕλην τέ-
μνοντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπηγνύντας τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους ἑώρων, γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γιγνο-
3 μένων[1] ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐξειργάσθη
καὶ ὁπλῖταί σφισι πανταχόθεν ἅμα ἐπ' αὐτῶν
προσήγοντο, κατεπλάγησαν ἅτε μηπώποτε τοι-
οῦτό τι ἑορακότες, καὶ διεκηρυκεύσαντο, τά τε
ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὅπλα
4 τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥίψαντες. ὡς μέντοι τά τε
μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμνωθέντα αὖθις εἶδον
καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς θυμηδίαν οἷα[2] ἐπὶ νίκῃ τετραμ-
μένους ᾔσθοντο, μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες
τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπέξοδον ὡς καὶ ἀνελπίστους σφᾶς
κατακόψοντες ἐποιήσαντο. περιπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς
προφύλαξιν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἀεὶ
διῴκει) ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς
ἔτι συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπράθησαν.[3]
5 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοί τε κατεστράφατο,[4] καὶ ἄλλοι
οἱ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων
συχνοὶ ἐκεχείρωντο, ὅ τε χειμὼν ἐνέστη, ἀνεχώ-
ρησεν ἐς τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ
οἴκοι[5] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν ὅτι ἔθνη τοσαῦτα, ὧν
οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἠκρίβουν, ᾑρήκει, καὶ
ἐψηφίσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας
θῦσαι, ὅπερ οὔπω[6] πρότερον ἐγεγόνει.

[1] γιγνομένων H. Steph., γενομένων L.
[2] πρὸς θυμηδίαν οἷα Bk., προθυμηιδιανοιαι L.
[3] ἐπράθησαν R. Steph., ἐπράχθησαν L.
[4] οὗτοι κατεστράφατο Leuncl. (τε added by Rk.), οὔτ' ἐστράφατο L. [5] οἴκοι supplied by Bk.
[6] οὔπω R. Steph., οὖν πω L.

for many days repulsed, until he turned to the construction of engines. Then for a time they gazed at the Romans cutting wood and constructing the machines and in their ignorance of what was taking place, scoffed at them. But when the machines were finished and heavy-armed soldiers upon them were advanced from all sides at once, they became panic-stricken, since they never before had seen anything of the kind; so they made overtures, supplied the soldiers with provisions, and threw some of their arms from the wall. When, however, they saw the machines stripped of men again and noticed that the latter had given themselves over to pleasure, as after a victory, they changed their minds, and recovering courage, made a sortie by night, thinking to cut them down unawares. But Caesar was carefully managing everything all the while, and when they fell on the outposts from every side, they were beaten back. Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain pardon, and they were all sold. B.C. 57

When these had been subjugated and others, too, some by him and many by his lieutenants, and winter had now set in, he retired to winter-quarters. The Romans at home when they learned of these achievements, were astonished that he had seized so many nations, whose names they had known but imperfectly before, and voted a thanksgiving of fifteen days because of his achievements—a thing that had never before occurred.

2 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος[1] ὑποστρατηγῶν αὐτῷ, μέχρι μὲν ἥ τε ὡραία ἦν[2] καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνεστὸς εἶχεν, Οὐαράγρους[3] παρά τε τῇ Λεμμάνῳ λίμνῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξι μέχρι τῶν Ἄλπεων οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο, ὥστε καὶ
3 χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρέμενοι[4] οἷα μὴ πόρρω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἄλλοσε ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι
4 ἐπέθεντο, πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως προήχθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφνω τούς τε προσκειμένους οἱ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ τολμήματος ἐξέπληξε, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέπεσε. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἠμύνατο μὲν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐχείμασεν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων μετέστη.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ[5] ἐγένετο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν κάθοδον τῷ Κικέρωνι ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο. ὃν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκει, τοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπανήγαγεν· οὕτω που τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δι' ὀλίγου τε ἔστιν ὅτε μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὠφελήσεσθαί τινες ἢ καὶ βλαβήσεσθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα
2 ἀντιλαμβάνουσι. συνέπραττον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος Ἄννιος Μίλων, οἵπερ που καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ

[1] Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος R. Steph., γαρβαροσερουιος L.
[2] ἦν added by Oddey. [3] Οὐαράγρους Rk., ὀαράγρους L.
[4] παρέμενοι Bs., παρέμενον L. [5] Γαλατίᾳ R. Steph., ἰταλίαι L.

BOOK XXXIX

During the same period Servius Galba, who was serving as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and his army remained a unit, brought to terms the Veragri, who dwelt along Lake Leman and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps; some he had gained by force and others through surrender, and he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furlough because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere for reasons of their own, the natives took advantage of this situation and unexpectedly attacked him. Then Galba, driven mad by despair, suddenly dashed out of the winter camp, astounding his besiegers by the incredible boldness of his move, and passing through them, gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later subjugated them; he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the territory of the Allobroges. These were the events in Gaul. B.C. 57

Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. Thus, the man whom he had expelled through Clodius, he now brought back to help him against that very individual. So quickly does human nature sometimes change, and from the persons by whom people are expecting to be helped or injured, as the case may be, they receive the very opposite treatment. Assisting him were Titus Annius Milo and others of the praetors and tribunes, who also brought the measure before the populace.

πλῆθος ἐσήνεγκαν· ὁ γὰρ Σπινθὴρ ὁ ὕπατος τὸ
μέν τι καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ χαριζόμενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐξ
ἰδίας ἔχθρας τὸν Κλώδιον ἀμυνόμενος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ
τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ δικάζων κατεγνώκει, καὶ . . .·
3 ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων
ὑπῆρχον καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος στρα-
τηγῶν, ὅ τε Νέπως ὁ ὕπατος ἀπ' οἰκείας τινὸς
7 ἔχθρας τὸν Κικέρωνα μισῶν. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐπὶ
πλέον ἢ πρίν, ἅτε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους
ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει διαστάντες
πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐθορύβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐκ
2 τούτου οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ
τῇ διαψηφίσει ὁ Κλώδιος γνοὺς τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς
τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐσόμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους οὓς ὁ
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ
Μάρκῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρεσκεύαστο λαβὼν
ἐσεπήδησεν ἐς τὸν σύλλογον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
3 ἔτρωσε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινεν. οὔτ' οὖν ἡ
γνώμη ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐκείνοις ὡς δορυφόροις συνὼν
φοβερὸς καὶ ἐς τἆλλα πᾶσιν ἦν, ἀγορανομίαν τε
ᾔτει ὡς καὶ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας, ἂν ἀποδειχθῇ,
4 διαφευξόμενος.[1] ἐγράψατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μίλων
καὶ οὐκ ἐσήγαγε μέν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὧν
τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν,
ᾕρηντο, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μη-
δεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσ-
έσθαι· ἔδει δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀγορανόμους πρὸ τῶν
ταμιῶν καταστῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα
8 ἡ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο), μαχόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ

[1] διαφευξόμενος Dind., διαφευξούμενος L.

Spinther, the consul, [aided Cicero's cause in the senate [1] (?),] partly as a favour to Pompey and partly to avenge himself upon Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as a juror to vote to condemn Clodius for adultery. Clodius, on the other hand, was supported by various magistrates, including Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and Nepos, the consul, who had a private grudge against Cicero. These men, accordingly, now that they had the consuls as leaders, made more disturbance than before, and the same was true of the others in the city, as they championed one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chief of which was that during the very taking of the vote on the measure Clodius, knowing that the multitude would be on Cicero's side, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honour of Marcus,[2] his relative, and rushing into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many others. Consequently the measure was not passed, and Clodius, both as the companion of those armed champions and otherwise, was dreaded by all. He then stood for the aedileship, thinking he would escape the penalty of his violence if he were elected. Milo did, indeed, indict him, but did not succeed in bringing him to trial, since the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the praetor to allow any trial before their allotment. Now it was necessary for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. While contesting this very point Milo caused much dis- B.C. 57

[1] Cf. Cicero *post red. ad Quir.* 5, 11; *Pis.* 15, 34; *Sest.* 33.
[2] Perhaps Marcius should be read, as Bs. suggests.

τούτου πολλὰ ἐτάραττε, καὶ τέλος μονομάχους τινὰς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τὰ αὐτά οἱ βουλομένων ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ᾔει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν
2 ἐγίγνοντο. ὁ οὖν Νέπως φοβηθεὶς πρός τε τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων μετεβάλετο,[1] καὶ οὕτως ἥ τε γερουσία κατελθεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῦ Σπινθῆρος ἐσηγησαμένου προεβούλευσε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐσενεγκόντων ἐψηφίσατο.
3 ἀντέλεγε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κλώδιος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε ὁ Μίλων ἀντέκειτο ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος συνεῖπον ὥστε πολὺ κρείττους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.

9 Κατῆλθέ τε οὖν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ χάριν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, παρασχόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ[2] τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔγνω. τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μεθεὶς συνηλλάγη, καὶ τήν γε[3] εὐεργεσίαν παραχρῆμα
2 ἀπέδωκε· λιμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ὁμίλου παντὸς ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον (†οἵῳ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔτι θεάτρῳ ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐχρῶντο) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς συνεδρεύοντας ἐσπηδήσαντος, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάξειν τοτὲ δὲ καὶ καταπρήσειν αὐτοῖς[4] τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπειλοῦν-
3 τος, ἔπεισέ σφας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου τὸν

[1] μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L. [2] καὶ Bs., καὶ κατὰ L.
[3] γε R. Steph., τε L. [4] αὐτοῖς Bs., σὺν αὐτοῖς L.

turbance, and at last himself collected some gladiators and others like-minded with himself and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that bloodshed occurred throughout practically the whole city. Nepos, accordingly, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other leading men, changed his attitude; and thus the senate decreed, on the motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace, on the motion of both consuls, passed the measure. Clodius, to be sure, spoke in opposition to the others, but he had Milo as an opponent, so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favour of the enactment, so that that side proved much the stronger. B.C. 57

Cicero accordingly came home from exile and expressed his gratitude to both the senate and the people, the consuls having given him the opportunity of appearing before both bodies. He put aside the hatred he bore Pompey on account of his banishment, became reconciled with him, and immediately repaid his kindness. A sore famine had arisen in the city and the entire populace rushed into the theatre (they were then still using a temporary[1] (?) theatre for public games) and afterwards to the Capitol where the senators were in session, threatening at first to slay them with their own hands, and later to burn them alive, temples and all. Cicero now persuaded them to elect Pompey as

[1] A word of this meaning seems required in place of "such a theatre as," the reading of L. Dio alludes to the fact that Pompey's theatre had not yet been erected; see chap. 38 below.

Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοῦναι. καὶ ὁ μέν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ[1] *πάσης αὖθις τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε οὔσης ἄρξειν ἔμελλε·*

10 *Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἤχθοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ' οὖν τινα αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ πάντως καθήξοντα αὐτὸν ᾔσθοντο (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀπὼν εὔνοιάν τινα αὐτῷ ἐνεδείξατο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ἀντέλαβον.*
2 *ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοῦτό τε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφᾶς πεποιηκότας εἰδώς, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἰτιωτάτους γεγονέναι νομίζων, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθρασύνετο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπιῶν νεωστὶ πεπειραμένος, βιβλίον μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε, καὶ*[2] *ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ*
3 *βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμόν τινα ἔχοντι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συνένησε,*[3] *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ, κατεσημήνατό τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οἱ μήτ' ἀναγνῶναι μήτε δημοσιεῦσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἂν μεταλλάξῃ.*

11 *Κικέρων μὲν οὖν αὖθις ἀνεβλάστανε, καὶ τήν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας, καίτοι τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀνειμένον, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντος καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ*[4] *προβάλ-*

[1] *σίτῳ* supplied by Rk. [2] *καὶ* Leuncl., *καὶ ἐπεὶ* L.
[3] *συνένησε* Leuncl., *συνήινεσε* L.
[4] *ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ* Wesseling, *ἐς ἐνθύμιον αὐτοῦ* L.

commissioner of the grain supply and to give him also on this account the office of proconsul for five years both in Italy and outside. So now in the case of the grain supply, as previously in the case of the pirates, he was once more to hold sway over the entire world then under Roman power. Caesar and Crassus really disliked Cicero, but showed some interest in him when they perceived that he would return in any case, Caesar even while absent displaying some good-will toward him; but they received no thanks for their pains. For Cicero knew that they had not done this in accordance with their real inclination, and he regarded them as having been most to blame for his banishment. And though he did not openly act toward them with marked insolence, since he had recently tasted the fruits of unrestrained free speech, nevertheless he secretly composed a little book to which he gave a title indicating that it contained a defence of his policies, and in it he heaped together many denunciations against them and certain other men. Fearing, therefore, that these statements might get out during his lifetime, he sealed up the volume and delivered it to his son with the injunction not to read or publish what was written until his death.[1] B.C. 57

Cicero, accordingly, was thriving once more; and he recovered his property and likewise the site of his house, although the latter had been dedicated to Liberty, and though Clodius both called the gods to witness and placed religious scruples in his way.

[1] Cf. Cicero *ad Att.* ii. 6; xiv. 17, 6.

2 λοντος, ἐκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφορὰν τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου, παρ' ἣν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεποίητο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τήν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλυε, λέγων οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον παρανόμως γεγενημένης, ὑγιές
3 τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεισε διὰ τούτου τοὺς ποντίφικας τὸ ἔδαφός οἱ ὡς καὶ ὅσιον καὶ βέβηλον ὂν ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ χρήματα ἔς τε τὴν τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευήν, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλελύμαντο, ἔλαβε.

12 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο[1] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἕνεκα αὖθις ἐκινήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλά τισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἴκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενος, ὅπως τήν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιώσηται καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὀνομασθῇ, καταναλώκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βιαίως ἠργυρο-
2 λόγει, καὶ διά τε τοῦτο ἐχαλεπαίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαιτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειπεῖν κελευόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, καὶ οὔτε πεῖσαί σφας ἡσυχάζειν οὔτ' αὖ βιάσασθαι (ξενικὸν γὰρ οὐκ
3 εἶχεν) ἠδυνήθη, διέδρα τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν κατηγόρησέ τε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἔτυχεν ὥστε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθῆρος, ᾧ ἡ Κιλικία

[1] τοῦτο supplied by Reim.

BOOK XXXIX

But Cicero attacked the *lex curiata* by which the other had been transferred from the patricians to the plebs, on the ground that it had not been proposed at the time established by ancestral custom. Thus he tried to render null and void the entire tribuneship of Clodius, during which the decree regarding his house had been passed, claiming that inasmuch as his transfer to the common people had taken place unlawfully, it was not possible for any one of his acts while in office to be considered binding. By this means he persuaded the pontifices to give back to him the site, on the ground that it was profane and unconsecrated. Thus he obtained not only that but also money for restoring his house and any other property of his that had been injured. B.C. 57

After this there was further disturbance on account of King Ptolemy. He had spent large amounts upon some of the Romans, part of it out of his own purse and part borrowed, in order to have his rule confirmed and to receive the name of friend and ally; and he was now collecting this sum forcibly from the Egyptians. They were accordingly angry at him both on this account and also because when they had bidden him demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship for them, he had been unwilling to do so. And since he could neither persuade nor yet compel them to be quiet, as he had no foreign troops, he fled from Egypt, and coming to Rome, accused his countrymen of having expelled him from his kingdom. He was successful in having his restoration entrusted to Spinther,

13 ἐπετέτραπτο, καταχθῆναι.[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα
ἐγένετο,[2] οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τέως μὲν ἀγνοήσαντες
ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπηρκὼς[3] ἦν, ἢ τεθνηκέναι
αὐτὸν νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ
ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντικατέστησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ
τἀληθὲς μαθόντες ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
ἔπεμψαν πρός τε τὰ ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολο-
γησομένους καὶ ἀντικατηγορήσοντας ὅσα ἠδί-
2 κηντο. προμαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος (ἔτι δὲ ἐν
τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἦν) ἐνήδρευσε τοὺς πρέσβεις, πρὶν
ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαπέμψας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε, τῶν δὲ δὴ
λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν[4] ἐν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφοβήσας ἐκ τούτων ἢ χρήμασι
διαφθείρας ἔπεισε μήτε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἐστάλατο[5] ἐντυχεῖν μήθ᾽ ὅλως μνείαν τινὰ περὶ
14 τῶν ἀπολωλότων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα
οὕτω περιβόητον ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν
ἀγανακτῆσαι δεινῶς, ἐνάγοντός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα
Φαουωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον,[6] ὅτι τε
πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις πεμ-
φθέντες βιαίως ἀπωλώλεσαν, καὶ ὅτι συχνοὶ καὶ
2 τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδωροδοκήκεσαν. καὶ οἱ
μὲν τὸν Δίωνα τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοκράτορα
(περιῆν γάρ) μετεπέμψαντο ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενοι· οὕτω δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε

[1] The reading of L is: ἔτυχεν ὥστε ὥστε ὑπάτου σπινθῆρος ὧι ἡ κιλία ἐπετράπετο καταχθῆναι. ὥστε (once only) and Κιλικία are correctly given in the later Mss. ὑπὸ τοῦ for ὑπάτου is due to Reim., ἐπετέτραπτο to St. Perhaps some words have fallen out after ἔτυχεν. [2] ἐγένετο supplied by Reim.

[3] ἀπηρκὼς Leuncl., ἀπηιρηκὼς L. [4] μὲν St., μὲν αὐτῶν L.

[5] ἐστάλατο St., ἐστάλαντο L. [6] ἑκάτερον Reim., ἕτερον L.

to whom Cilicia had been assigned. While this was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy, or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend them against his charges and to bring counter-complaints of all the wrongs they had suffered. Now he heard of it in season, while still in Rome, and sent men out in various directions to lie in wait for the envoys before they could arrive. Thus he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself, and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was mightily displeased; it was urged to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, on the double ground that many envoys sent by their allies had perished by violence and that numerous Romans had again on this occasion taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the leader of the envoys, who survived, in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy had such influence with his B.C. 57

ἔθ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς χρήμασι κατεκράτει ὥστε
μήτε τὸν Δίωνα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν μήτε
μνήμην τινὰ τοῦ φόνου τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἕως γε
3 καὶ αὐτὸς παρῇν, γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ
Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμίαν οὐδ'
ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκε·[1] τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ
Πομπήιος τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ
4 ἰσχυρῶς οἱ συνήρετο.[2] τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν
αὐτόθεν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρῳ συχνοί,
ἑάλωσαν δὲ ὀλίγοι· τό τε γὰρ δεδωροδοκηκὸς
πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἕκαστος δέος
συνεμάχουν.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωποι τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρη-
μάτων ἐποίουν, τὸ δὲ δὴ θεῖον κεραυνῷ κατ'
ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ
Διὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ[3] ἱδρυμένου βαλὸν τὴν
κάθοδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε.
2 τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλείοις ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες εὗρον ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο "ἂν ὁ τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου βασιλεὺς βοηθείας τινὸς δεόμενος ἔλθῃ,
τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι
καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσητε· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ
3 πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἕξετε." κἀκ τούτου τὴν
συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυ-
μάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐγνωσμένα, Γαΐῳ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ.
ταῦτα δὲ ἐχρήσθη μὲν οὕτως, ἐδημοσιεύθη δέ (οὐ
γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ
ψηφίσαιτο, ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι) διὰ τοῦ

[1] ἔδωκε Pflugk, δέδωκε L.
[2] οἱ συνήρετο, Bk., συνήρετο Xyl., ἡίρετο L.
[3] Ἀλβανῷ R. Steph., λαβανῶι L.

money that not only did Dio fail to enter the senate-house, but there was not even any mention made of the murder of the dead men, so long at least as Ptolemy was there. Furthermore, even after Dio had later been assassinated, he suffered no punishment for that deed either, largely owing to the fact that Pompey had entertained him in his house and continued to render him powerful assistance. Of the other Alexandrines, however, many were accused at a later time, yet few were convicted; for those who had taken bribes were many, and each coöperated with the others because of his own fear. B.C. 57

While mortals were acting thus under the influence of money, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year struck with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban Mount, and so delayed the return of Ptolemy for some time. For when they read the Sibylline verses, they found written in them this very passage: "If the king of Egypt come requesting any aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet succour him with any great force; else you shall have both toils and dangers." Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they rescinded all their action in his case, following the advice of Gaius Cato, a tribune. Such was the nature of the oracle; and it was made public through Cato. Now it was unlawful to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline verses, unless the senate voted it; yet as soon B.C. 56

4 Κάτωνος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐπῶν
διεθρυλήθη, ὥσπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἔδεισε μὴ
συγκρυφθείη, καὶ ἔς τε τὸν ὅμιλον τοὺς ἱερέας
ἐσήγαγε, κἀνταῦθα, πρὶν ὁτιοῦν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι, ἐξεβιάσατό σφας ἐκλαλῆσαι
τὸ λόγιον· ὅσῳ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον οὐκ ἐδόκει σφίσιν
16 ἐξεῖναι τοῦτο, . . . τὸ πλῆθος ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνο
μὲν ἔσχεν οὕτως, καὶ[1] ἐς τὴν τῶν Λατίνων γλῶσ-
σαν μεταγραφὲν[2] ἀνεκηρύχθη· γνώμας δὲ αὐτῶν
μετὰ τοῦτο ποιουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνευ στρατοῦ
τῷ Σπινθῆρι τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον προσ-
ταττόντων, τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ
2 ῥαβδούχων δύο καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν κελευόντων (ὅ
τε γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὸ χρησθὲν ἠξίωσε
τούτου τυχεῖν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ Αὖλος
Πλαύτιος[3] ἐς τὸ κοινὸν δημαρχῶν ἀνέγνω), δεί-
σαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ μείζων ἔθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ
ἀπ' ἐκείνου γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ
σίτου προφάσει χρησάμενοι.
3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπί τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ
Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὰ
ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τήν τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ
ἐς Ἔφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῷ διῃτᾶτο.
17 Τῷ δὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ τοιόνδε τι, ἴδιον μέν,
φέρον δέ πως ἐς τὴν συγγραφήν, ἐπράχθη. τοῦ
γὰρ νόμου διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδένας[4] δύο
ἅμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἱερατείαν
ἔχειν, ὁ Σπινθὴρ ὁ ὕπατος ἐπιθυμήσας Κορνήλιον
Σπινθῆρα τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ἐσαγαγεῖν,
2 ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἐκ

[1] καὶ added by R. Steph.
[2] μεταγραφὲν Rk., γραφὲν L.
[3] Πλαύτιος Xyl., πλατυιος L.
[4] μηδένας Rk., μηδένα L.

as the sense of the verses, as usually happens, began to be talked about, he became afraid that it might be suppressed, and so brought the priests before the populace and there compelled them to utter the oracle before the senate had taken any action at all in the matter. The more scruples they had against doing so, [the more insistent] was the multitude. Such, then, was the oracle, and it was translated into the Latin tongue and proclaimed. When later the senate discussed the matter, some were for assigning to Spinther the restoration of Ptolemy without an army, and others urged that Pompey with two lictors should escort him home. Ptolemy, on learning of the oracle, had asked for the latter arrangement, and his letter was read in public by Aulus Plautius, a tribune. But the senators, fearing that Pompey would by this means obtain still greater power, opposed it, using his connection with the corn-supply as an excuse. B.C. 56

All this happened in the consulship of Lucius Philippus and Gnaeus Marcellinus. Ptolemy, when he heard of it, despaired of his restoration, and going to Ephesus, passed his time in the temple of the goddess.

The year before there had occurred an incident of a private nature which, however, has some bearing upon our history. It was this. Although the law expressly forbade any two persons of the same *gens* to hold the same priesthood at the same time, Spinther, the consul, was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and since Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian *gens*, had B.C. 57

τοῦ τῶν Κορνηλίων[1] φύλου ὢν προενεγέγραπτο, ἐξεποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτου γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ῥήμασι μείνας ἔργῳ κατελύθη.

18 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἐπί τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου παρεληλύθει[2] (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δίκης παρακελευστὸς ᾑρέθη), γραφὴν κατὰ[3] τοῦ Μίλωνος τῆς τῶν μονομάχων παρασκευῆς ἀπήνεγκε· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔπραττε καὶ
2 ἐφ' οἷς ἐκρίνετο, ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ ἀντενεκάλει. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Μίλωνα προσεδόκα[4] αἱρήσειν ἅτε καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἰσχυροὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τόν τε Πομπήιον ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ τῷ τε Μίλωνι προσ-
19 πολεμοίη καὶ ἐκείνους ὑβρίζοι. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοιόνδε τι ἐμεμηχάνητο· παρασκευάσας τοὺς ἑταίρους[5] ἵν', ὁπότε πύθοιτο αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις "τίς ὁ[6] ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων[7] τοιόνδε τι[8] ἦν,[9]" συνεκβοῷεν ὅτι Πομπήιος, ἐπηρώτα πολλάκις ἐξαίφνης πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαίτια περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἦν, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ'
2 ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐ περὶ ἐκείνου δὴ λέγων· κἀκ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἐξαρχόντων τῶν δὲ συνεπηχούντων σφίσιν, οἷα φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Πομπήιος, χλευασία πολλὴ συνέβαινεν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μήτε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν

[1] Κορνηλίων Leuncl., κορνηλίου L.
[2] παρεληλύθει Bk., παρελήλυθε L.
[3] κατὰ Leuncl., καὶ L. [4] προσεδόκα Bk., προσδοκῶν L.
[5] ἑταίρους R. Steph., ἑτέρους L. [6] ὁ added by Bk.
[7] τίς . . . καὶ λέγων Leuncl., τί . . . καταλέγων L.
[8] τοιόνδε τι St., τοιόσδε τις L. [9] ἦν Rk., ὢν L.

been enrolled before him, he transferred his son to the *gens* of Manlius Torquatus; thus, though the letter of the law was observed, its spirit was broken. B.C. 57

After this Clodius attained the aedileship in the year of Philippus and Marcellinus; for, being anxious to avoid the lawsuit, he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for providing himself with gladiators, actually charging him with the very thing he was doing himself and for which he was likely to be brought to trial. He did this, not in the expectation of convicting Milo, inasmuch as the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey, but in order that under this pretext he might not only carry on a campaign against Milo but also insult his backers. For example, the following was one of his devices. He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: "Who was it that did or said so-and-so?" they should all cry out: "Pompey!" Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in the way of physical peculiarities or any other respect, touching upon such topics individually, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start up and others would join in with them, crying "Pompey!" and there was much jeering. Now Pompey could not control himself and keep B.C. 56

*καρτεροῦντα μήθ' ὅμοιόν τι ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπο-
μένοντα περιοργῇ τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ
καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὸν Μίλωνα κατακρί-
νεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν μηδ' ἀπολογούμενον ἁλί-
3 σκεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον
ἀποροίη,[1] οὐκ εἴα τὸν φρατριατικὸν νόμον ἐσενε-
χθῆναι· πρὶν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τεθῆναι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι
τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραχθῆναι οὔτε δίκην
οὐδεμίαν ἐσαχθῆναι ἐξῆν.*

20 *Τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλων τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν
σφαγῶν πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἦν· τεράτων τέ τινων
ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων (ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ νεὼς
Ἥρας βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζης τινὸς πρὸς ἀνατολῶν
ἱδρυμένος πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον μετεστράφη, καὶ λαμ-
πὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὁρμηθεῖσα πρὸς βορέαν
2 διῇξε, λύκος τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ σεισμὸς
ἐγένετο, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τινες κεραυνοῖς ἐφθά-
ρησαν, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τῷ Λατίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐξη-
κούσθη· καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντεις ἀκέσασθαι[2] ἐθελή-
σαντες ὀργίζεσθαί σφισι δαιμόνιόν τι ὡς καὶ
ἱερῶν τινων ἢ χωρίων οὐχ ὁσίων ἐποικουμένων
3 ἔφασαν) ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν Κικέρωνα μετα-
λαβὼν τῷ τε λόγῳ πολὺς[3] ἐνέκειτο, ὅτι τὸ ἔδαφος
τῆς οἰκίας ἱερωμένον τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ κατῳκοδόμησε,
καὶ ἐπῆλθέ ποτε ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων
αὖθις αὐτὴν ἀναιρήσων. καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε μὲν
21 τοῦτο, ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐκώλυσεν· ὁ δ' οὖν Κικέρων
ὡς καὶ παθὼν αὐτὸ ὀργήν τε εἶχε καὶ κατηγορίας
ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τέλος τόν τε Μίλωνα καὶ δημάρχους
τινὰς παραλαβὼν ἀνῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον*

[1] ἀποροίη Bk., ποιοίη L. [2] ἀκέσασθαι Xyl., ἀκούσασθαι L.
[3] πολὺς Rk., πολὺ L.

quiet, nor would he stoop to a trick like that of Clodius, and so he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir; thus nominally Milo was the defendant, but in reality Pompey was being convicted without even offering a defence. For Clodius, in order to embarrass him the more, would not allow the *lex curiata* to be introduced; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the state or any suit instituted. B.C. 56

For a season, then, Milo served as an excuse for their taunts and assassinations. But about this time some portents occurred: on the Alban Mount a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around toward the north; a blaze of light darted from the south across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by thunderbolts; in the Latin territory a subterranean tumult was heard; and the soothsayers, being anxious to find a remedy, said that some divinity was angry with them because some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and not only attacked him vigorously in a speech because the site of the house he had built upon was dedicated to Liberty, but even went to it once, with the intention of razing it anew to the ground; but he did not do so, as he was prevented by Milo. Cicero, however, was as angry with him as if he had actually accomplished his purpose, and kept making accusations. Finally, taking with him Milo and some tribunes, he ascended

καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς[1] ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φυγῇ ὑπὸ[2]
2 τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθείσας καθεῖλε. καὶ τότε μὲν
αὐτὰς ἐκείνου σὺν Γαΐῳ τῷ[3] ἀδελφῷ στρατηγοῦντι
ἐπελθόντος ἀφῃρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξας ἐκ-
δημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἀνέβη τε αὖθις ἐς τὸ
Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς[4] οἴκαδε ἀπεκόμισε.
3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδετέρῳ[5]
αὐτῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλους καὶ διέβαλ-
λον ἄλλα τε ὅσα ἐδύναντο, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων
4 ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τήν τε δημαρχίαν τὴν τοῦ
Κλωδίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ
τὰ πραχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄκυρα
ὄντα, ὁ δὲ τήν τε φυγὴν τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ
δικαίως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς
καὶ παρανόμως ἐψηφισμένην.

22 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολὺ
τῇ στάσει ἐλαττουμένου, ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος
ἐπελθὼν ἀνίσωσεν[6] αὐτούς· τῷ τε γὰρ Κικέρωνι
ἀχθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἅμα μὴ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς
ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἐπεποιήκει καταλυθείη, ὅτι πρὸς
τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως
2 αὐτῷ συνήρατο. μέγα γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐφρόνει,
καὶ περὶ παντὸς τὸ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τὴν νῆσον τότε κατέχων,
ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐψηφισμένα ᾔσθετο καὶ μήτ' ἀντᾶραι
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μήτ' αὖ στερηθεὶς τῆς
3 ἀρχῆς ζῆν ὑπέμεινε,[7] φάρμακον πιὼν ἀπέθανε, καὶ
οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτωνα οὐκ ἀκουσίως, ἅτε καὶ

1 τὰς added by Pflugk. 2 ὑπὸ Leuncl., ἐπὶ L.
3 τῷ added by Rk. 4 αὐτὰς R. Steph., αὐτὰ L.
5 οὐδετέρῳ Bk., οὐδὲ ἑτέρωι L.
6 ἀνίσωσεν Oddey, ἀνέσωσεν L.
7 ὑπέμεινε R. Steph., ὑπέμενε L.

the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by B.C. 56 Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, and going up to the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refraining even from the basest means. The one declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to the laws and that therefore his official acts were invalid, and the other that Cicero's exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

While they were contending, and Clodius was getting much the worst of it, Marcus Cato came upon the scene and restored their balance. He had a grudge against Cicero and was likewise afraid that all his acts in Cyprus would be annulled, because he had been sent out under Clodius as tribune; hence he eagerly took the latter's side. For he was very proud of his deeds and anxious above all things that they should be confirmed. For Ptolemy, who at the time had been master of the island, when he learned of the vote that had been passed, and neither dared to rise against the Romans nor could endure to live deprived of his kingdom, had taken his life by drinking poison.[1] Then the Cypriotes readily received Cato, expecting to be friends and allies of the

[1] This was a younger brother of the Ptolemy (Auletes) who was expelled from Egypt and subsequently restored (see chap. 55), and is the same one mentioned in Book xxxviii. 30.

φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων
4 ἔσεσθαι προσδοκήσαντες, ἐσεδέξαντο· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὐδὲν εἶχε σεμνύνεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ἄριστα διῴκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀθροίσας οὐδὲν ᾐτιάθη ἀλλὰ ἀνεπικλήτως πάντα ἀπέδειξεν, ἀνδραγαθίας οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ εἰ[1] πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐνενικήκει μετεποιεῖτο· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πολλοὺς δωροδοκεῖν σπανιώτερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐνόμιζε.

23 Τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐν δόξῃ τινὶ ἐπινικίων διὰ ταῦτ' αἰσίων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐποιήσαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι καίπερ μηδέπω ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσήκουσαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μέν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖπε), τὴν δὲ δὴ
2 εὔκλειαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μείζονα ἔσχε. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου ἀχθέντας Κλωδίους, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἐκεῖσε ἐπεπόμφει, ὀνομόσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κύπριοι ἐπεκλήθησαν, καίτοι τινῶν Πορκίους σφᾶς προσειπεῖν ἐθελη-
3 σάντων (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκώλυσεν)· ὀργῇ δ' οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος τὴν ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τά τε διοικηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαλλε καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπῄτει, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ διελέγξαι τι αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ ναυαγίας[2] τὰ γράμματα σχεδόν τι πάντα διέφθαρτο, καὶ ἐδόκει κατὰ τοῦτό τι ἰσχύσειν.
4 ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ Κλωδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ καίτοι μὴ παρών, καὶ τάς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπιστολιμαίους, ὥς γέ τινές φασιν,

[1] *εἰ* added by Leuncl. [2] *ναυαγίας* Bk., *ναυαγίου* L.

Romans instead of slaves. Over this fact, however, Cato had no reason to vaunt himself; but because he had administered everything in the best possible manner, and after collecting slaves and large amounts of money from the royal treasury, had incurred no reproach but had turned over everything unchallenged, for these reasons he laid claim to valour no less than if he had conquered in some war. So many men were accepting bribes that he thought it more unusual for a man to despise money than to conquer the enemy. B.C. 56

So at that time Cato for these reasons had created some expectation that he would receive a regular triumph, and the consuls proposed in the senate that he be given the praetorship, although by law he could not yet hold it. And though he was not appointed, for he spoke against the measure himself, yet he obtained greater renown from this very circumstance. Clodius undertook to name the slaves brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there; but he failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some wished to call them Porcians; but Cato prevented this too. So Clodius became angry at his opposition and proceeded to attack his administration; he demanded the accounts of the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he expected to gain some advantage from this circumstance. And Caesar, although not present, was again aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some was sending him in

ἔπεμπεν. ἐπεφέρετο[1] δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν στρατηγίαν οἱ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους πείσας, ὥς γε ἔλεγον, ἐσηγήσασθαι, προσεποιήσατο ἐθελοντής, ἵνα καὶ μὴ ἄκων ἀποτετυχηκέναι αὐτῆς δόξῃ, παρεῖσθαι.

24 Οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἔσχε μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει τριβήν τινα· πολλῶν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφήν σφων, ὅπως ἔν τε κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν τάξει τινὶ σιτοδοτηθῶσιν, ἠθέλησε[2]
2 ποιήσασθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῇ τε ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ σίτου ῥᾷόν πως διῴκησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα[3] ἔσχε καὶ αἰτίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ[4] ἔλαβεν.
3 ἐλύπει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου γιγνόμενα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερεωρᾶτο ὧν διέφερε, διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοὺς τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριζόμενος.
4 ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ κατεφρόνει· παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούων ἐδυσχέραινεν, διαλιπὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀναλογισμὸν τῆς τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων κακίας ἀφικνούμενος
25 οὐκέτ' αὐτῶν προετίμα· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ αὐξανόμενος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος τά τε κατειργασμένα αὐτῷ θαυμάζων ὥστε καὶ ἐκ[5] τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεδουλωμένοις παντελῶς τοῖς Γαλάταις

[1] ἐπεφέρετο St., ἐπεφέροντο L.
[2] ἠθέλησε Leuncl., ἐθελῆσαι L.
[3] ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα Xyl., ὑπατείαν τῶν πραγμάτων L.
[4] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Bs., ἀπ' αὐτῶν L.
[5] In place of καὶ ἐκ Cobet plausibly suggested καὶ ι̅ ἐκ ("ten men").

letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of the attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose the praetorship for him, and that he had then pretended to give it up voluntarily, in order not to appear to have lost it unwillingly. B.C. 56

While these men kept up their conflict, Pompey, too, encountered some delay in the distribution of the grain. For since many slaves had been freed in anticipation of the event, he wished to take a census of them in order that the grain might be supplied to them with some order and system. This, to be sure, he managed fairly easily through his own wisdom and because of the large supply of grain; but in seeking the consulship he met with annoyances and incurred some censure. Clodius' behaviour, for one thing, irritated him, but especially the fact that he was treated slightingly by the others, whose superior he was; and he felt outraged both on account of his reputation and on account of the hopes by reason of which while still a private citizen he had thought to be honoured above them all. Yet sometimes he could bring himself to scorn these; at the moment when people were speaking ill of him he was vexed, but after a time, when he came to consider carefully his own excellence and their baseness, he paid no further attention to them. The fact, however, that Caesar's influence was increasing and the people admired his achievements so much that they dispatched men[1] from the senate, on the supposition that the Gauls had been completely subjugated, and that they were

[1] Perhaps we should read "ten men" with Cobet; cf. Cicero, *Prov. cons.* 11, 28; *Balb.* 27, 61; *ad Fam.* I, 7, 10. Dio is wrong in attributing this action to the people instead of to the senate.

ἀποστεῖλαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας
ἐπαιρόμενος ὥστε καὶ χρήματά οἱ πολλὰ ψηφί-
2 σασθαι, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἠνία. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ
τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναπεῖσαι μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
στον, μέχρις ἂν αὐτόματος ἡ δόξα τῶν πραττο-
μένων ἐκνικήσῃ, συγκρύπτειν, καὶ διάδοχόν τινα
αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος καιροῦ πέμψαι.
3 τοσαύτῃ γὰρ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐχρῆτο ὥσθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς
τῷ Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασκαίνειν καὶ
καταλύειν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε[1] ἄλλως τε μεγάλως
ἐπαινουμένῳ[2] καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συσκιάζοντι ἄ-
χθεσθαι, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτόν τε ἐν
ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπερ-
4 εσπούδαζε.[3] τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἠγανάκτει ὁρῶν
αὐτοὺς τῶν τε προποιηθέντων[4] τινὶ[5] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
μνημονεύοντας ἐφ' ὅσον μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιγένοιτο,
καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον, κἂν ἔλαττον τοῦ
προτέρου ᾖ, προχειρότατα τῷ τε τοῦ συνήθους
κόρῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ξένου ἡδονῇ φερομένους, καὶ τὸ
μὲν προευδοκιμοῦν πᾶν καταλύοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ
φθόνου, τὸ δ' ἄρτι προφαινόμενον συνεπαύξοντας
26 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δι' οὖν ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων,
καὶ μήτε τι διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι
δυνηθεὶς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μείζω τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
πίστεως γιγνόμενον ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ
πρᾶγμα ἐποιήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζε δύο τε

[1] ἐκείνῳ τε Rk., ἐκείνωι γε L.
[2] ἐπαινουμένῳ Rk., ταινιουμένῳ L.
[3] ὑπερεσπούδαζε Reim., ὑπεσπούδαζε L.
[4] προποιηθέντων Rk., πρὸς ποιηθέντῳν L.
[5] τινὶ Bk., τινὰ L.

so elated by their hopes based on him as to vote him large sums of money, was a cruel thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters immediately but to conceal the facts as long as possible, until the glory of his deeds should win its own way abroad, and furthermore to send some one to relieve him even before the regular time. So jealous was he that he undertook to disparage and undo all that he himself had helped to gain for Caesar, and that he was displeased with him both because he was greatly praised and because he was overshadowing his own exploits, and he blamed the people because they slighted him and were excessively enthusiastic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered the former achievements of a man just so long as nothing new occurred, that they rushed with the greatest haste to each new achievement, even if it were inferior to that which had preceded, because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that, actuated by envy, they overthrew everyone who had once been in high repute, but, urged on by their hopes, helped to exalt one who was just emerging. Because of this he was vexed, and being unable to accomplish anything through the consuls and seeing that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. For he held that there were two things which B.C. 56

εἶναι τὰ τὰς φιλίας τινῶν συγχέοντα,[1] τό τε δέος[2]
καὶ τὸν φθόνον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου καὶ
τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος μόνως μὴ[3] συμβαίνειν·
2 ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἰσομοιρῶσί τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ
ἐκείνας[4] ἐρρῶσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δ' ὑπεράρωσί τι οἱ
ἕτεροι, ἐνταῦθα τό τε ἐλαττούμενον φθονῆσαν
μισεῖν[5] τὸν κρείττονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρο-
νῆσαν ἐξυβρίζειν[5] ἐς τὸν χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπ'
ἀμφοτέρων τὸν μὲν τῇ ἐλαττώσει ἀγανακτοῦντα
τὸν δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἐπαιρόμενον, πρός τε δια-
φορὰς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐκ τῆς πρὶν φιλίας
3 ἀφικνεῖσθαι. τοιούτοις οὖν δή τισι λογισμοῖς ὁ
Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὡπλίζετο. καὶ ἐδόκει
γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλῦσαι, τὸν
Κράσσον, ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο[6] ποιήσων, ἔτι
καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνηρτήσατο.

27 Συμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν[7] ἰδιω-
τεύοντες πράξειν ἤλπισαν, ἂν δ' ὑπατεύσωσι κἀκ
τούτου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐκείνου ζηλώσει
διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροποί οἱ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ
αὐτοῦ, ἅτε καὶ δύο ἑνός, περιγενήσεσθαι προσ-
2 εδόκησαν. καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ'
ἧς, εἰ[8] καί τις τῶν ἑταίρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
αὐτοὺς προῆγεν, ἀπηρνοῦντο μηκέτι βούλεσθαι
ὑπατεῦσαι, ἀποθέμενοι, ἄντικρυς αὐτῆς, καίπερ
ἑτέροις τισὶ πρότερον συναγωνιζόμενοι, μετεποιή-
3 σαντο. ἐπειδή τε ἔξω τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς

[1] συγχέοντα R. Steph., συνέχοντα L.
[2] δέος R. Steph., δέλος L. [3] μὴ supplied by Bk.
[4] ἐκείνας Reim., ἐκεῖνα L.
[5] μισεῖν . . . ἐξυβρίζειν Reim., μισεῖ . . . ἐξυβρίζει L.
[6] τοῦτο supplied by Bs. [7] οὐδὲν Dind., οὐδὲν ἂν L.
[8] ἀφ' ἧς εἰ Rk., σφίσι L.

destroy people's friendship, fear and envy, and that these can be prevented by nothing except an equality in fame and strength. For as long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels at all, then the inferior party becomes jealous and hates the superior, while the stronger despises and insults the weaker; and thus, with such feelings on both sides, the one being vexed by his inferiority, the other elated by his advantage, they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such reasoning Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he alone could not easily overthrow him, he attached Crassus to himself even more than before, that he might accomplish his purpose with his aid. B.C. 56

After reaching an understanding, they decided that they could not hope to accomplish anything as private citizens, but that if they should become consuls and devote themselves to public affairs, in imitation of Caesar, they would not only be a match for him but would quickly triumph over him, being two against one. So they gave up all their dissimulation, whereby, whenever any of their associates urged them to seek the consulship, they had been claiming that they no longer cared to take the office; and they now openly sought it, in spite of the fact that they had previously been assisting some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for

νόμοις διειρημένων[1] ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτήν, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ὕπατοι (καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ῥώμης ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος εἶχεν) οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντές σφισιν ἀποδειχθῆναι, διεπράσσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνιέντες, ἵνα μεσοβασιλέως αἱρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι.

28 Καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν[2] ὑπὸ τῶν[3] παρεσκευασμένων ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων[4] (τοῖς γοῦν ἐναντιουμένοις σφίσι φανερῶς ἤχθοντο), δεινῶς ἡ γερουσία ἠγανάκτησεν, ὥστε ποτὲ μεταξὺ μαχομένων αὐτῶν
2 ἐξαναστῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγίγνετο, τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ τινι μετεκδῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔκ τε τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐπειδήπερ ἀντιλέγων οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἐκπηδήσαντος . . .,
3 ὅπως μηδὲν τελεσθείη· εἰ γάρ τις τῶν μὴ βουλευόντων ἔνδον ἦν, οὐδεμία ψῆφος αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. ἐκείνους τε γὰρ προαπαντήσαντες ἕτεροι δήμαρχοι ἐκώλυσαν ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτω τοῦτό τε τὸ δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὅπως καὶ ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν τότε οὖσαν οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ[5] θεωρή-
4 σωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ὁ Κάτων ἀνθίστατο, ἐξεπήδησαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλαξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν καταπλήξοντες. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ὣς ἐμετρίαζεν,

[1] διειρημένων Rk., διηρημένων L.
[2] τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν Rk., λόγωι τοῦτο μὲν L.
[3] ὑπὸ τῶν "N" in Reimar's ed., ὑπάτων L.
[4] ἐκείνων Reim., ἐκείνοις L.
[5] μὴ supplied by Rk.

the office outside of the period specified by law, and, B.C. 56
among others the consuls themselves (for Marcellinus had some little influence) made it plain that they would not allow them to be elected, they tried to bring it about, through the agency of Gaius Cato and others, that the elections should not be held that year, in order that an *interrex* might be chosen and they might then seek and secure the office in accordance with the laws.

This result, now, was being achieved, to all appearances, by the men employed on different pretexts, but in reality by these candidates themselves; at all events they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senators, therefore, became highly indignant and once rose up and departed while these men were wrangling. Thus their strife was stopped for the time being; but when the same disturbance happened again, the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, in spite of the fact that Cato, when he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering [and called in any one he met in the market-place (?)] in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were inside, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were ahead of him and prevented the outsiders from entering; and so this decree was passed, and it was also decided that the senators should not be spectators at the games then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even then he would

προῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα πάντες, καὶ συνδρα-
μόντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας
5 αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελ-
λῖνος καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπι-
δακρύοντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐπιστένοντες, ὥστε
μηδένα μηδὲν ἀντιφθέγξασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο
πράξαντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εὐθὺς ἐσῆλθον,
γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπαιτίους τὴν ὀργὴν
29 ἀφεῖναι· Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηδήσας αὖθις
πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀνθελό-
μενος ἐλπίδι[1] τοῦ, εἴ τί οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων
συγκατεργάσαιτο, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἰδιώσεσθαι, παρ-
ῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ στολῇ,
μηδὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ δόγμα μεταλλάξας, καὶ κατά
τε τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδημη-
2 γόρει. πολλῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσεως
ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πλῆθος
μεταξὺ λέγων ἐγκατέλιπε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ συν-
έδριον ᾄξας[2] ὀλίγου διεφθάρη· τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας
ἀπαντησάσης αὐτῷ εἴσω τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐκωλύθη,
3 κἂν τούτῳ ὑπὸ ἱππέων περιστοιχισθεὶς διε-
σπάσθη ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
ὅμιλον ἐπιβοησαμένου προσέδραμον πολλοὶ πῦρ
φέροντες, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σφᾶς
καταπρήσοντες εἴ τι αὐτὸν ἐξεργάσαιντο.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι
30 οὕτως ἐσώθη· Πομπήιος δὲ οὐδὲν τούτοις ἐκ-
πλαγεὶς ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριόν ποτε ἐσεπήδησεν,
ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι,[3] καὶ
ἐκεῖνό τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελ-

[1] ἐλπίδι R. Steph., ἐλπίδα L. [2] ᾄξας Wesseling, ἄρξας L.
[3] μέλλοντι R. Steph., μέλλοντος L.

not moderate his behaviour, they all proceeded to the Forum together and brought the multitude, which had thereupon rushed together, to a state of extreme sorrow; for Marcellinus addressed them, lamenting their present situation, while the rest wept and groaned, so that no one had a word to say against him. After doing this the senators entered the senate-house immediately, intending to vent their wrath upon those who were responsible. But Clodius had meanwhile leaped over to the side of Pompey and espoused his cause again, in the hope that if he should give him any help in securing his present objects, he would make him thoroughly his friend. So he came before the populace in his ordinary garb, without having made any change as the decree required, and went to inveighing against Marcellinus and the rest. As great indignation was shown by the senators at this, he left the people in the midst of his speech and rushed to the senate-house, where he came near perishing. For the senate confronted him and prevented his going in, while at that moment he was surrounded by the knights and would have been torn limb from limb, had he not raised an outcry, calling upon the people for aid; whereupon many ran to the scene bringing fire and threatening to burn his oppressors along with the senate-house if they should do him any violence. Thus Clodius was saved after coming so near perishing. B.C. 56

But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senate, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus

λίνου μετὰ τοῦτο πυθομένου δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰ ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεῦσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ κατοκνήσειν αὐτὸν σπουδαρχεῖν ὁμολογῆσαι, τῶν μὲν δικαίων ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα οὐδὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖσθαι ἔφη, διὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς ταραχώδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς
2 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ὡς οὖν τούτῳ[1] φανερῶς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐρωτηθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὐχ ὡμολόγησε μέν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπηρνήσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει διὰ μέσου ἐχώρησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροι πράξοι, κατέδεισαν ὅ τε Μαρκελλῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τήν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπήντων
3 ἔτι ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. μὴ συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἀριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψηφισθῆναί τι περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, οὐδὲ χρηματισθῆναί τι ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ ὁ
4 ἐνιαυτὸς[2] οὕτω διέβη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῇ εἱστιάθησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας, δεύτερον τότε ὑπό τινος οὐκ ὀρθῶς πραχθέντος ποιουμένας,[3] ἐς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δεδουλωμένοι, καὶ μήτ' ἀρχὰς ἑλέσθαι μήτ' ἄλλο τι πολιτικὸν πρᾶξαι[4] ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους διήγαγον.

31 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὕπατοι ἐκ μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὔτ' ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηγγελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Λουκίου Δομιτίου, ὃς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας

[1] τούτῳ R. Steph., τοῦτο L.
[2] ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς Canter, ἀλλὰ θέσει αὐτὸς L.
[3] ποιουμένας R. Steph., ποιούμενα L.
[4] πρᾶξαι Bk., πράξασθαι L.

after that publicly asked him whether he really desired to become consul, in the hope that he would shrink from admitting that he was a candidate, Pompey declared that he did not want the office because of the just men, but that on account of the seditious he was trying very hard to gain it. So Pompey now openly strove for the office, and Crassus on being interrogated gave the same impression himself, not admitting the fact, to be sure, but not denying it, either; instead, he took, as usual, a middle course and said that he would do whatever was advantageous for the republic. Consequently Marcellinus and many others were terrified, as they observed the preparations and opposing array of these men, and would no longer frequent the senate-house. And since the number required by law for passing any vote concerning the elections did not assemble, it was impossible to have any business at all about them brought forward, and the year thus passed away. The senators, however, did not change back to their usual attire nor attend the games nor celebrate the feast of Jupiter on the Capitol nor go out to the Alban Mount for the Feriae Latinae, held there for the second time by reason of something not rightly done. Instead, they spent the rest of the year as if they were in bondage and possessed no authority to choose officials or carry on any other public business. B.C. 56

Later Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls after an interregnum, as no one else of the earlier candidates opposed them. To be sure, Lucius Domitius, B.C. 55

ἡμέρας ἐσπουδάρχησεν, ὁρμήσαντος μὲν πρὸς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν οἴκοθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ὁ
τὸν λύχνον οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δείσαντος καὶ
2 μηκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρήσαντος. οὔτ' οὖν
ἀντιστάντος τινὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ
Πουπλίου Κράσσου, ὃς υἱός τε τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν καὶ
τότε τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεστρατήγει, στρατιώτας ἐπ'
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπῶς
ᾑρέθησαν.
32 Παραλαβόντες δ'[1] οὕτω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὰς
λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐπιτηδείως[2] σφίσιν ἔχουσι
δοθῆναι ἐποίησαν, τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Μᾶρκον
κωλύσαντες στρατηγὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι· ὑπώπτευόν
τε γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὐκ
ἠθέλησαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῷ ἔννομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντι-
2 λογίας προσθεῖναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν
κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βίαιον πρᾶξαι
ἠξίωσεν) εἰρηναία ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγορα-
νόμους τοὺς κουρουλίους σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε
καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀναπλησθῆναι.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μέν, τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρουμένους, πρὸς τρόπου[3] σφίσιν
(αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐποίουν) ἀπέδειξαν,
τούς τε ἀγορανόμους τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ τῶν δη-
μάρχων τοὺς πλείους προσηταιρίσαντο· δύο δὲ
δήμαρχοι,[4] Γάιός τε Ἀτέιος[5] Καπίτων καὶ Πού-
πλιος Ἀκύλιος[6] Γάλλος, οὐχ ὡμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς.
33 Ὡς οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατέστησαν, εἴχοντο ὧν

[1] δ' added by Rk. [2] ἐπιτηδείως R. Steph., ἐπιτηδείοις L.
[3] πρὸς τρόπου Wesseling, προστρόπους L.
[4] δήμαρχοι Xyl., δημοσίαι L.
[5] Ἀτέιος Bs., following Leuncl. (Ἀτήιος), ἄτιος L (and so regularly). [6] Ἀκύλιος Reim., ἀκυίλιος L.

who canvassed for the office up to the very last B.C. 55 day of the year, set out from his house for the assembly just after dark, but when the slave who carried the torch in front of him was slain, he became frightened and went no farther. Hence, since no one at all opposed them, and furthermore since Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and at that time lieutenant under Caesar, brought soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

When they had thus assumed the leadership of the state, they had the other offices given to such as were well disposed toward them and prevented Marcus Cato from being appointed praetor; for they suspected that he would not submit to their régime and were unwilling to add any legal power to his protests. The election of the praetors, now, was made in peace, for Cato did not see fit to offer any violence; in the matter of the curule aediles, however, there was some bloodshed, so that even Pompey was much bespattered with blood. Nevertheless, in the case of both these and the other officials elected by the people, they made appointments to please themselves, since they personally held the elections, and they made friends with the other aediles and most of the tribunes; but two tribunes, Gaius Ateius Capito and Publius Aquilius Gallus, did not come to terms with them.

Accordingly, when the magistrates had been appointed, they proceeded to lay hold on the objects

ἐφίεντο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδένα οὔτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὔτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐπλάττοντο μηδενός σφων προσ-
2 δεῖσθαι· Γάιος δὲ δὴ Τρεβώνιος δημαρχῶν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ τὰς Ἰβηρίας[1] (καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔναγχος ἐκεκίνηντο[2]) ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοθῆναι, στρατιώταις τε ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς οὓς ἂν βουληθῶσι ποιουμένοις.
3 χαλεπῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἐχόντων, ὅτι ἤμελλον ἐκεῖνοι, τυχόντες ὧν διῳκοῦντο, τὸν Καίσαρα μηκέτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕξοντα καθείρξειν, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων διὰ τοῦτο ἀντειπεῖν τινων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οἱ ὕπατοι μὴ διαμάρτωσιν ὧν ἔπραττον, προσεποιήσαντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τρία ἔτη πλείω, ὥς γε
4 τἀληθὲς εὑρίσκεται, μηκῦναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμόν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐσήνεγκαν πρὶν τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιώσασθαι. οἵ τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιτήδειοι προκαταληφθέντες οὕτως ἡσύχασαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πολὺ δουλωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἡσυχίαν ἤγαγον, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ καὶ
34 ὣς περισωθεῖεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Φαουώνιος ἠναντιοῦντο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, συνεργοὺς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς δύο δημάρχους ἔχοντες, ἅτε δὲ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς
2 ἀγωνιζόμενοι μάτην ἐπαρρησιάζοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος μίαν ὥραν μόνην παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου

[1] Ἰβηρίας R. Steph., ἴβηρας L.
[2] ἐκεκίνηντο Bk., ἐκεκίνητο L.

of their striving. They made no mention of these matters themselves before either the senate or the people, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure, that to the one Syria and the neighbouring lands should be given as a province for five years, and to the other the two Spains, where there had recently been disturbances, for the same period; they should employ as many soldiers as they wished, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. Many took offence at this, especially the friends of Caesar, because these men were bound after gaining their present ends to restrict Caesar's power and keep him from holding his position much longer, and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls, fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand, won over their opponents on the condition of extending Caesar's command also for three[1] years more—to state the actual fact. However, they submitted nothing to the people in regard to him until their own arrangements had been confirmed. For Caesar's friends, having been gained over in the manner stated, remained quiet, and the majority of the others, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they might save their lives, kept still. On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them; but since they were fighting a few against many, their outspokenness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his B.C. 55

[1] The same period is adopted by Dio in Book xliv. 43, 2. Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian say five years.

πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβών, κατέτριψεν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ στενοχωρίας εἰκῇ βοῶν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν δύο ὥραις
3 δημηγορῆσαι, τραπόμενος δὲ πρὸς κατηγορίαν τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ τῆς ὅλης καταστάσεως, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατανάλωσε τὸν καιρὸν πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν τῶν προκειμένων εἰπεῖν,[1] οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνεδέχετό τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔτι τι δημηγορῆσαι δοκῶν ἔχειν ὑπό τε τοῦ Τρεβωνίου σιγασθῇ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐγκαλῇ, ἐπεὶ εὖ γε ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέχρητο, πεῖσαί τι ὧν ἐβούλετο ψηφίσασθαί σφας ἐδύνατο.
4 οὐκοῦν οὔτε[2] παραχρῆμα σιωπῆσαι[3] κελευσθεὶς ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξωσθεὶς καὶ ἑλκυσθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσαχθῆναι προσταχθεὶς οὐκ ἐμετρίασεν.

35 Καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτω κατετρίβη ὥστε μηδ' εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν μηδὲν τοὺς δημάρχους δυνηθῆναι· ἐν γάρ τοι ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς[4] τοῦ δήμου, ἐν αἷς γε καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, πάσαις τοῖς[5] ἰδιώταις
2 πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο, τοῦ μηδένα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώμῃ προκαταλαμβανόμενον ὑποστέλλεσθαί τι ὧν φρονοίη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης παρρησίας τὰ δοκοῦντα
3 αὐτῷ λέγειν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος μή τις αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξείρξῃ ἢ καὶ δεινότερόν τι ἐργάσηται, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνυκτέρευσε, τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἅμα

[1] προκειμένων εἰπεῖν Rk., ἐονουμένων L.
[2] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ L.
[3] σιωπῆσαι Reim., σιωπήσειν L.
[4] ταῖς Xyl., καὶ ταῖς L.
[5] τοῖς Xyl., πρὸς τοῖς L.

speech in opposition, used it up in uttering vain protests against this very limitation of his time. Cato, for his part, received the privilege of speaking for two hours, but devoted his efforts to criticizing present conditions and the general state of affairs, as was his wont, and so exhausted his time before he had touched upon any of the matters before them. He took this course, not because he had not the privilege of speaking on those matters as well, but in order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while still appearing to have something more to say and might thus obtain this additional grievance to bring against him. For he well understood that even if he employed the whole day, he could not persuade them to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when bidden to be silent, he did not stop immediately, but had to be pushed and dragged from the assembly, whereupon he came back, and though finally ordered to be taken to prison, he did not moderate his behaviour. B.C. 55

That day was used up in such wise that the tribunes could not speak at all. For in all the meetings of the people in which they deliberated, the right to speak was given to the private citizens ahead of the magistrates, to the end apparently that none of them, captivated beforehand by the opinion of a superior, should conceal any of his own ideas, but should speak out his mind with entire frankness. Hence Gallus, fearing that some one might on the next day keep him from the Forum or do something worse still, went into the senate-house in the evening and passed the night there, both for the sake of the safety afforded by the place, and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join

4 ἔξω πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέλθῃ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ
Τρεβώνιος μάτην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς
ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρῖψαι ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς
θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κλείσας· τὸν δὲ Ἀτέιον
τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαουώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντας ἕτεροι, προκαταλαβόντες
τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ τοῦ συλλόγου χωρίον, ἐξεῖργον.
5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος καὶ ὁ Νίννιος δια-
λαθόντες πως ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ
ὁ Ἀτέιος ἐπαναβάντες τισὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων
καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν διοσημίαν, ὡς καὶ
διαλύσοντές σφας, ἐπεφήμιζον,[1] τούτους μὲν ἑκατέ-
ρους οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν δημάρχων ἐξήλασαν, τοὺς
δ' ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας κατετραυμάτισαν,
καί τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

36 Κυρωθέντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοῦ
πλήθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου,
παραλαβὼν ὁ Ἀτέιος τὸν Γάλλον αἵματος ἀνά-
πλεων (ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου
ἐπλήγη) παρήγαγέ τε ἐς τοὺς ἔτι παρόντας, καὶ
ἐπιδείξας αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν,
2 δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραξεν. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν τοῦθ'
οἱ ὕπατοι ἦλθόν τε διὰ ταχέων (ἐγγύθεν γάρ
ποθεν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐφήδρευον) καὶ καταφο-
βήσαντες αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην
ἔχοντες, εὐθύς τε ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ
κατὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεψήφισαν, ἀντειπεῖν μὲν
καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ δυνηθέντων τι πρᾶξαι.

37 Ταῦτά τε οὖν κυρωθῆναι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο πικρότερα ἐπιτίμια τοῖς δεκάζουσί τινας

[1] ἐπεφήμιζον Rk., ἐψηφίζοντο L.

the populace outside. But Trebonius, by locking all the doors of the senate-house, caused him to spend not only the night there but most of the day as well, all in vain. Others occupied the meeting-place of the assembly by night and barred out Ateius, Cato, Favonius, and the others with them. When Favonius and Ninnius got in somehow unobserved, and Cato and Ateius climbed upon the shoulders of some of those standing around, and being lifted up by them, declared an omen with the purpose of breaking up the meeting, the attendants of the tribunes drove them both out, wounded the rest who were with them, and actually killed a few. B.C. 55

After the law had been passed in this way and the crowd was already departing from the assembly, Ateius took Gallus, who had been struck in being forced out of the gathering, and led him, all covered with blood, into the presence of those still on the spot, showed him to them, and by making such remarks as might be expected, stirred them mightily. The consuls quickly arrived upon becoming aware of this; for they had been watching developments from somewhere near at hand. And as they had a considerable bodyguard they intimidated the men, immediately called a meeting, and put to vote the additional measures relating to Caesar. The same persons tried to speak in opposition to these, too, but were unable to accomplish anything.

The consuls, accordingly, had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon

ἐπέταξαν, ὥσπερ τι αὐτοὶ ἔλαττον, ὅτι οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφεσαν, ἁμαρτόντες.
2 ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν[1] δίαιταν ἐπὶ μακρότατον προηγμένα[2] συστεῖλαι, καίπερ ἐς πᾶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἁβρότητος προκεχωρηκότες, ἐκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ
3 αὐτοῦ τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ὁρτήσιος φιλαναλωτὴς[3] ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὢν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, τό τε μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξιών, καὶ αὐτοὺς[4] ἐπί τε τῇ οἴκοι πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους μεγαλοφροσύνῃ ἐπαινῶν, καταβαλεῖν[5] τὴν γνώμην, ἅτε καὶ συναγωνιστῇ[6] τῶν λόγων τῷ
4 βίῳ σφῶν χρώμενος. τήν τε γὰρ ἐναντίωσιν αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατοκνήσαντες φθόνῳ τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐποίουν,[7] δοκεῖν ἀπείργειν, ἑκόντες ἀφῆκαν τὴν ἐσήγησιν.

38 Κἀν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θέατρον, ᾧ καὶ νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείνῳ θέαν καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ἀγῶνος γυμνικοῦ κἀν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἵππων ἅμιλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγὰς
2 ἐποίησεν. λέοντές τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὀκτωκαίδεκα πρὸς ὁπλίτας ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἠλεήθησαν γάρ τινες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου γνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες

[1] ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Rk. (κατὰ supplied by Leuncl.), ἀναλώτατα τὴν L. [2] προηγμένα Leuncl., προσηγμένα L.
[3] φιλαναλωτὴς Pflugk, φιλανάλωτος L.
[4] αὐτοὺς added by Leuncl. [5] καταβαλεῖν Xyl., καταλαβεῖν L.
[6] συναγωνιστῇ R. Steph., συναγωνιστὴν L.
[7] ἐποίουν Bk., ἐποιοῦντο L.

those offering bribes, as if their own offence were any less because they had secured their office by force instead of by money. They even undertook to curtail personal expenditures, which had increased to an enormous extent, although they themselves went to every length of luxury and indulgence; but they were prevented by this very circumstance from enacting the law. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and praising the costliness of their homes as well as their generosity toward others, thus making use of their own mode of life to support his arguments, persuaded them to give up their intention. They were brought to shame by his opposition and also shrank from appearing to debar others through jealousy from privileges that they themselves enjoyed; and so they voluntarily withdrew their motion. B.C. 55

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being

3 τῆς μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιιόντες τάς τε
προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ὠλοφύ-
ροντο οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λόγον παρασχεῖν ὅτι οὐκ
ἄλλως ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τούς
τε ὅρκους οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπε-
περαίωντο ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς
4 τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι
οὐ πρότερον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστιν
παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς ἔνορκον λαβεῖν, ἦ μὴν
μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἴτ' ὄντως
5 οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα· ἤδη
γάρ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς
τῆς πατριώτιδος αὐτοὺς ἐπαΐειν[1] καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ
οὐρανῷ γιγνομένων συνιᾶσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς
νουμηνίαις, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν
σελήνην ἐλθεῖν, πρός τε ὕδωρ ἀείνων[2] ἀφικνεῖσθαι
6 κἀνταῦθα καθαρμόν τινά σφων ποιεῖσθαι. ἤκουσα
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θέα-
τρον τοῦτο οὐχ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Δημήτριός τις ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρη-
μάτων ὧν συστρατευόμενός οἱ ἐπεπόριστο. ὅθεν-
περ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἔργου δικαιότατα
αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην[3] κακῶς ἀκούῃ ὅτι
ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἠργυρολόγησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς
τηλικοῦτον ἀνάλωμα ἐξικέσθαι.

39 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτοις οὐ σμικρὰ τῷ δήμῳ
ὁ Πομπήιος ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ καταλόγους
μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσι
ποιούμενος πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησε. καὶ τότε
δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ μετεμέλοντο καὶ τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ

[1] ἐπαΐειν R. Steph. (so Xiph.), ἐπαίσειν L.
[2] ἀείνων Bk., ἀεινὸν L. [3] μὴ μάτην Polak, μὴ τὴν L.

wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance, but were crying out against the oaths in which they had trusted when they crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would not set foot upon the ships before they received a pledge under oath from their drivers that they should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or not I do not know; for some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of the new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there perform a kind of purification of themselves. These things I have heard; I have heard also that this theatre was not erected by Pompey, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his, with the money he had gained while making campaigns with the general. Most justly, therefore, did he give his master's name to the structure, so that Pompey might not incur needless reproach because of the fact that his freedman had collected money enough to suffice for so huge an expenditure. B.C. 55

At all events Pompey in these matters afforded the populace no little delight; but in making with Crassus the levies for the campaigns assigned to them he displeased them exceedingly. Then, indeed, the majority repented of their course and praised Cato and the rest. Both on this account,

τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπήνουν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους διά τε
2 τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι δίκη τις λόγῳ μὲν τοῖς ὑποστρατή-
γοις σφῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα
παρὰ δημάρχων τινῶν ἐπήχθη, βίαιον μὲν μηδὲν
τολμῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μετὰ
τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς στασιωτῶν ἀλλάξασθαι.
3 καὶ ταύτην μὲν εὐθὺς μεταγνόντες καὶ μηδὲ προ-
φάσεώς τινος ἐπιλαβόμενοι μετεσκευάσαντο· τῶν
δὲ δημάρχων τούς τε καταλόγους διαλῦσαι καὶ
τὰς στρατείας αὐτῶν ἀναψηφίσαι ἐπιχειρούντων
4 ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος οὐκ ἠγανάκτει (τούς τε γὰρ ὑπάρ-
χους παραχρῆμα ἐξεπεπόμφει, καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ
χώραν, ὡς καὶ κωλυόμενος ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλως διὰ
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σίτου παρεῖναι ὀφείλων, ἡδέως
ἔμενεν, ἵνα τάς τ᾽ Ἰβηρίας[1] ἅμα δι᾽ ἐκείνων κατά-
σχῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ δι᾽
5 ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσηται), ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος, ἐπειδὴ μη-
δέτερον αὐτῷ τούτων ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν
ὅπλων ἰσχὺν ἐτράπετο. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι ἰδόντες
ὅτι ἡ παρρησία αὐτῶν ἄοπλος οὖσα ἀσθενὴς πρὸς
τὸ κωλῦσαί τι πραχθῆναι ἦν,[2] ἄλλως μὲν ἐσιώπων,
ἐπεφήμιζον δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὥσπερ οὐ
6 καὶ[3] τῷ δημοσίῳ δι᾽ ἐκείνου καταρώμενοι, καὶ
τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς
νομιζομένας ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ ποιουμένου[4] καὶ διο-
σημίας τινὰς καὶ τέρατα διεθρόουν, τοῦτο δὲ
ἐξορμωμένῳ οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπηράσαντο. ἐπε-
χείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀτέιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
7 αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· ἀντιστάντων δὲ ἑτέρων δημάρχων

[1] τάς τ᾽ Ἰβηρίας Bk., ταςιβερια L.
[2] ἦν added by Bk. [3] οὐ καὶ Xyl., οὐκ ἐν L.
[4] ποιουμένου Leuncl., ποιούμενοι L.

therefore, and because of a suit instituted by some of the tribunes, nominally against the lieutenants of the consuls, but really against these themselves and their acts, the consuls, although they did not dare to use any violence, did, however, along with their partisans in the senate, change their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately repented, and without offering any excuse went back to their accustomed dress; but the tribunes endeavoured to annul the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns. At this, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger, as he had sent out his lieutenants promptly and was glad to remain himself where he was on the plea that he was prevented from leaving the city, and ought in any case to be in Rome on account of his superintendence of the corn-supply; his plan was to let his officers subdue the Spains while he took in his own hands the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations applied to his case, looked to the force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, unsupported by arms, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, held their peace for the most part, but they uttered many dire imprecations against him, as if, indeed, they were not cursing the state through him. At one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign, they spread a report of omens and portents, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them and a B.C. 55

μάχη τε αὐτῶν καὶ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο, κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Κράσσος ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐξῆλθε.

Καὶ ὁ μέν, εἴτε ἐκ συντυχίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν
40 ἀρῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐσφάλη, ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καῖσαρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου τῇ τε Φιλίππου
ὑπατείᾳ ἐπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστράτευσεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ
πρὸς τῷ ὠκεανῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς Ῥωμαίους
πεμφθέντας ἐπὶ σῖτον συνέλαβον,[1] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐλθόντας κατέ-
σχον, ὅπως ἀντ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁμήρους σφῶν ἀπο-
2 λάβωσιν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε,
διαπέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν
συναφεστηκότων αὐτοῖς πορθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συμβο-
ηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων,
3 μὴ καὶ αὐτοί τι παρακινήσωσι, φρουρεῖν, αὐτὸς
ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ἤλασε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ με-
σογείᾳ, ἃ ἤκουεν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ
παλίρροιαν εἶναι, κατασκευάσας διά τε τοῦ Λί-
γρου[2] ποταμοῦ κατεκόμισε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν
4 ὡραίαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αἵ τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπ'
ἐρυμνῶν χωρίων ἱδρυμέναι ἀπρόσιτοι ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ
ὠκεανὸς πάσας ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὰς περικλύζων ἄπο-
ρον μὲν τῷ πεζῷ ἄπορον δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν
προσβολήν, καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων,[3] ἔν τε
5 τῇ ἀμπώτιδι καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥαχίᾳ ἐποίει, ὥστε ἐν
παντὶ τὸν Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οὗ Δέκιμος[4]
Βροῦτος ταχείαις οἱ ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς ἔνδοθε θαλάσ-
σης ἦλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείναις τι
πράξων γνώμην εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι κατα-

[1] συνέλαβον Bk., ἔλαβον L. [2] Λίγρου Leuncl., αἴγρου L.
[3] καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων is probably a gloss on the following words. [4] Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμιος L.

delay, in the midst of which Crassus went outside the pomerium. Now he, whether by chance or as a result of these very curses, before long met with defeat. B.C. 55

Caesar in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came in their behalf, in order that in exchange for these they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those who were under treaty, for fear they too might cause some disturbance; he himself proceeded against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior the kind of boats which he heard were of advantage for the tides of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire summer to no purpose. For their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. Consequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to believe he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the B.C. 56

φρονήσαντες τῆς τε σμικρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας
41 τῶν σκαφῶν ἡττήθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ὑπὲρ[1] τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν ἐς τὸν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπον ἐσκεύαστο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλιρροίας ἐπί τε τοῦ ξηροῦ πολλάκις ἵστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρροὴν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὀφείλοντα, πλεῖστόν σφων καὶ
2 τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι προεῖχεν.[2] δι' οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι, οἷα μήπω πρότερον τοιούτου ναυτικοῦ πεπειραμένοι, πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ εὐθὺς ναυλοχούσαις[3] σφίσιν ἐπανήχθησαν ὡς καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐτὰς καταποντώσοντες. ἐφέροντο δὲ ἀνέμῳ καὶ πολλῷ καὶ σφοδρῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἱστία δερμάτινα εἶχον, ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν
42 τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσχὺν ἀπλήστως ἐσδέχεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἐκεῖνο[4] ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδ' ἀνταναχθῆναι αὐτοῖς διά τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν τήν τε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος φορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολήν σφων ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὰς προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνούμενος καὶ τὰ σκάφη παντελῶς ἐκ-
2 λείψων. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅ τε ἄνεμος ἐξαπιναίως ἔπεσε καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἐστορέσθη, τά τε πλοῖα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἅτε[5] καὶ καταβαρῆ ὄντα κατὰ χώραν τρόπον τινὰ εἱστήκει, τότε δὴ θαρσήσας ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτοῖς πολλά σφας καὶ δεινὰ ἀδεῶς καὶ περιπλέων καὶ

[1] ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. [2] προεῖχεν Bk., προεῖχον L.
[3] ναυλοχούσαις Rk., ναυλοχοῦσαί L.
[4] ἐκεῖνο Leuncl., ἐκεῖνος L.
[5] ἀλλ' ἅτε R. Steph., αλλατε L.

barbarians through their contempt for the small size B.C. 56
and frailty of the boats incurred defeat. For these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction, whereas those of the barbarians surpassed them very greatly both in size and stoutness, since amid the ever-shifting tides of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow. Accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless in view of their appearance; and as soon as they were lying in the harbour they set sail against them, thinking to sink them speedily by means of their boat-hooks. They were swept on by a great and violent wind, for their sails were of leather and so carried easily the full force of the wind. Now Brutus, as long as the wind raged, dared not sail out against them because of the number and size of their ships, the force with which they were driven by the wind, and their own attack, but he prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled as they had been with the oars but because of their great bulk stopped motionless, as it were, then he took courage and sailed out to meet them. And falling upon them, he caused them many serious injuries with impunity, delivering both broadside and rear

3 διεκπλέων,[1] καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐμβάλλων τινὶ τοτὲ δὲ
ἀνακρουόμενος, ὅπῃ τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἤθελεν, εἰργά-
σατο, πολλαῖς τε πρὸς μίαν καὶ ἑτέρωθι ἴσαις
πρὸς ἴσας,[2] ἔστι δ' ᾗ καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας
4 ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείττων
αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ . . . προσηρτᾶτό[3] σφισι, καὶ τὰς
μὲν κατέδυεν ἀναρρηγνύς, ἐς δὲ τὰς πολλαχόθεν
μετεκβαίνων ἔς τε χεῖρας τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ᾔει καὶ
πολλοὺς ἐφόνευεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν ἐλαττοῖτο,
ῥᾷστα ἀνεχώρει, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν
43 ἀεὶ εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι μήτε τοξείᾳ χρώμενοι,
μήτε λίθους,[4] ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι, προ-
παρασκευάσαντες, εἰ μέν τίς σφισιν ὁμόσε ἐχώ-
ρησε, τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δ' ὀλίγον
σφῶν ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι ποιήσωσιν.
2 αὐτοί τε οὖν ἐτιτρώσκοντο καὶ ἀπέθνησκον καὶ οἱ
μηδὲ ἀμύνασθαί τινα δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ
μὲν ἀνερρήγνυτο[5] ἐμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπίμ-
πρατο[5] ὑφαπτόμενα· ἄλλα ἀναδούμενα[6] ὥσπερ
3 κενὰ ἀνδρῶν εἵλκετο.[5] ὁρῶντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ
ἐπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτίννυσάν σφας, μὴ καὶ ζῶντες
ἁλῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξεπήδων, ὡς καὶ
δι' ἐκείνης ἤτοι τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἐπιβησόμενοι
ἢ πάντως γε οὐχ[7] ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι.
4 προθυμίᾳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τόλμῃ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διέφερον,
τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίῳ τῶν σκαφῶν προδιδόμενοι δεινῶς

[1] διεκπλέων v. Herw., διαπλέων L.
[2] πρὸς ἴσας supplied by Rk.
[3] ἐν τῇ . . . προσηρτᾶτό Rk., ἐν τῇ προσήρατό L.
[4] λίθους R. Steph., λίθοις L.
[5] ἀνερρήγνυτο, κατεπίμπρατο, εἵλκετο St., ἀνερρήγνυντο, κατεπίμπραντο, εἵλκοντο L.
[6] ἀναδούμενα Rk., ἀναδύομενα L. [7] οὐχ added by Bk.

attacks, now ramming one of them, now backing water, in whatever way and as often as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with a few against many. At whatever point he was superior to them in . . . he stuck to them closely; he sank some by ripping them open, and boarding others from all sides, he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the crews and slew many. If he found himself inferior anywhere, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. For the barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them; hence, if any one came into close quarters with them, they fought him off after a fashion, but with those who stood at a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So the men were being wounded and killed, even those who were unable to repel any one, while the boats were in some cases rammed and ripped open, in other cases were set on fire and burned; still others were towed away, as if empty of men. When the remaining crews saw this, some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that they would thus either board the hostile ships or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. For in zeal and daring they were not at all behind their opponents, but they were terribly angry at finding themselves betrayed by the sluggishness of

B.C. 56

ἤσχαλλον. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε πνεῦμα
τι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιγενόμενον κινήσειεν αὐτάς, δο-
ρυδρέπανα πόρρωθέν σφισιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέφερον,
καὶ τά τε σχοινία αὐτῶν διέτεμνον καὶ τὰ ἱστία
5 διέσχιζον. πεζομαχεῖν δὲ τρόπον τινὰ ἐν πλοίοις
πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἀναγκαζόμενοι πάμπολλοι μὲν
αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐφθάρησαν, πάντες δὲ οἱ περιλιπεῖς
ἑάλωσαν· καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἀποσφάξας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπώλησε.

44 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπί τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Με-
ναπίους ὁμόρους σφίσιν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσ-
καταπλήξειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προκατειργασμένων
καὶ ῥᾳδίως αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσας. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐχει-
2 ρώσατό τινας· οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἐν
καλύβαις διαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἐς τὰ
λασιώτατα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι, πολὺ
πλείω τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐκάκωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὄρη τὴν ὕλην τέμνων προ-
χωρῆσαι, ἀπειπὼν δὲ διά τε τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν καὶ
διὰ τὸ πρὸς χειμῶνα εἶναι ἀπανέστη.

45 Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Οὐενετίᾳ ὄντος Κύιντος
Τιτούριος Σαβῖνος ὑποστράτηγός τε ἐστάλη ἐπὶ
Οὐενέλλους,[1] ὧν ἡγεῖτο Οὐιριδοῦιξ,[2] καὶ τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
2 ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τό γε[3] ἔρυμα διασώσηται, ἔπειτα
δὲ αἰσθόμενός σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τούτου
διακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ δεινοὺς ὄντας,
οἷά που οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς

[1] Οὐενέλλους Bs., οὐενεσίους L.
[2] Οὐιριδοῦιξ R. Steph., ἰδουίξ L.
[3] ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τό γε St., ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν εἰ τὸ Leuncl., ὡς τὰ πάντοτε L.

their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, employed from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. And since the barbarians were compelled to fight in their boats as if on land, while the foe could use his ships as at sea, great numbers perished then and there, and all the remainder were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest. B.C. 56

Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbours, hoping to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them; for having no cities, and living only in huts, they conveyed their chief treasures to the most densely wooded parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the mountains themselves, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

While he was still among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was dispatched against the Venelli [Unelli], whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only he could save the camp, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not really dangerous, and he accordingly took courage. Most barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all

πᾶν τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομποῦσιν, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐτόλμησέ σφισι συνενεχθῆναι (τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ
3 κατείργετο), πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρευμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μετεώρου[1] τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος ὑπηγάγετο αὐτοὺς ἀπερισκέπτως προσβαλεῖν· τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων τινὰ ὁμοφωνοῦντά σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑσπέραν ὡς αὐτόμολον πέμψας, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὅ τε Καῖ-
4 σαρ ἐπταικὼς εἴη . . . καὶ οὕτω[2] πιστεύσαντες ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκεῖνοι (πάνυ γάρ τι[3] διακορεῖς καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἦσαν) εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μὴ καὶ φθάσωσί σφας φυγόντες, ὥρμησαν, καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ἀράμενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες
5 αὐτούς, πρός τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδῇ προσανέβαινον, μηδενός σφισιν ἐναντιουμένου· ὁ γὰρ Σαβῖνος οὐκ ἐκινήθη πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐπικατέδραμέ σφισιν ἁπανταχόθεν ἅμα ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας κατήραξε
6 κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἅπαντας, κἀνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τοῖς ξύλοις[4] σφαλλομένους κατέκοψεν οὕτως ὥστε
7 μηδένα αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἔτ' ἀνταραι. ἄπληστοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ὄντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετριάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἔκ τε τούτου[5] πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ-

[1] μετεώρου Reim., ἢ μετεώρου L.
[2] οὕτω R. Steph., οὕτως L.
[3] τι Bk., τοι L.
[4] ξύλοις Rk., ξυλίνοις L.
[5] τούτου Rk., τοῦ L.

sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation. B.C. 56 Nevertheless he did not venture to fight openly with them even then, as he was seriously hampered by their great numbers; but he induced them to make a reckless assault upon his camp, although it was on high ground. He did this by sending out towards evening, in the guise of a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and thus persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses . . . Trusting this report, they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans, being gorged with food and drink, in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since it was their avowed purpose that not a single soul[1] should escape, they carried along fagots and dragged logs after them with the intention of burning the enemy alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his reach. Then he charged down upon them unexpectedly from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front, he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were tumbling over one another and the logs in their retreat, he cut them to pieces so thoroughly that none of them or even of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all their passions, know no moderation in either courage or fear, but plunge

[1] Literally "not even the fire-bearer." This was a proverbial expression (cf. Herodotus viii, 6), based on the Spartan custom which required the presence in their army of a priest carrying a lamp lighted at the shrine of Zeus in Sparta; as this flame was never to be extinguished, the priest would naturally be guarded most carefully so long as any others survived.

πιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πρὸς θάρσος προπετὲς ἐκπίπτουσιν.

46 Ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Πούπλιος, τοῦ Κράσσου τοῦ Μάρκου παῖς, τὴν Ἀκυϊτανίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο· Γαλάται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τῇ τε Κελτικῇ[1] προσοικοῦσι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Πυρηναῖον ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν
2 καθήκουσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Κράσσος στρατεύσας Σωτιάτας[2] τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ εἷλεν, ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐξ ἀπάτης[3] ἀποβαλών, ἰσχυρῶς δέ σφας καὶ περὶ
3 αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμυνάμενος·[4] καὶ ἑτέρους τινὰς ἰδὼν ἠθροισμένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Σερτωριείους[5] ἔχοντας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικώτερον ἢ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ χρωμένους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν δι' ὀλίγου σφῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκχωρησόντων, προσεποιήσατό τε αὐτοὺς δεδιέναι, καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπηγάγετο μὲν οὐδ' ὣς ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ἐλθεῖν, ἀδεῶς δ' ἐς ὕστερον ἔχουσί σφισι προσέβαλεν ἐξαίφνης ἀν-
4 έλπιστος. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ᾗ προσέμιξεν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο (ἐπεκδραμόντες γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρῶς ἠμύνοντο), ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς οὔσης περιέπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν, καὶ τοῦτό τε ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν κατέσχεν,[6] καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις δι' αὐτοῦ κατὰ νώτου ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντες ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀκονιτὶ ὡμολόγησαν.

[1] Κελτικῇ R. Steph., βελτικῆι L. [2] Σωτιάτας Fabr., ἀπιάτας L.
[3] ἐξ ἀπάτης Xyl., ἐξαπάσης L. [4] ἀμυνάμενος Bk., ἀμυνόμενος L.
[5] Σερτωριείους Xyl., σερτωρίους L. [6] κατέσχεν Bk., κατέσχον L.

from the one into hopeless cowardice and from the other into headstrong audacity. B.C. 56

About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Making a campaign, now, against these, Crassus conquered the Sotiates in battle and captured them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but punished the enemy severely for this. On seeing some others who had banded together along with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain and were carrying on the war with skill, and not recklessly, since they believed that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. But although he incurred their contempt, he did not even then draw them into a conflict with him; and so, while they were feeling secure with regard to the future, he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians rushed out and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest with the exception of a few made terms without any contest.

47 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐπράχθη, χειμαζόντων
δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ Τέγκτηροί τε καὶ
Οὐσιπέται, Κελτικὰ γένη, τὸ μέν τι καὶ πρὸς
Σουήβων[1] ἐκβιασθέντες τὸ[2] δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν
Γαλατῶν ἐπικληθέντες, τόν τε Ῥῆνον διέβησαν
2 καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρηουήρων[3] ἐνέβαλον. κἀνταῦθα
τὸν Καίσαρα εὑρόντες καὶ φοβηθέντες ἔπεμψαν
πρὸς αὐτὸν σπονδάς τε ποιούμενοι καὶ χώραν
αἰτοῦντες, ἢ σφίσι γε ἐπιτραπῆναί τινα ἀξιοῦντες
λαβεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς ἔτυχον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐθελονταὶ[4] οἴκαδε ἐπανήξειν ὑπέσχοντο καὶ διο-
3 κωχὴν ᾐτήσαντο· ἔπειτα δὲ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγους
προσιόντας ἰδόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ σφῶν ὄντες
κατεφρόνησάν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετέγνωσαν, κἀκ[5]
τούτου ἐπισχόντες τῆς πορείας[6] ἐκείνους τε μὴ
προσδεχομένους ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ
48 τούτῳ εἴχοντο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πρε-
σβύτεροι καταγνόντες πρός τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ
παρὰ τὴν γνώμην σφῶν ἦλθον, καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ
συγγνῶναί σφισι, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς ὀλίγους τρέποντες.
ὁ δὲ τούτους[7] μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀπόκρισίν τινα αὐτοῖς
2 οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δώσων κατέσχεν, ὁρμήσας δὲ ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὄντας ἐπέστη τέ
σφισι μεσημβριάζουσι καὶ μηδὲν πολέμιον, ἅτε
ἐκείνων παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντων, ὑποτοπουμένοις, καὶ
ἐσπηδήσας ἐς αὐτὰς παμπληθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν, οὐδὲ
τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελέσθαι φθάσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ[8]
ταῖς ἁμάξαις ὑπό τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

[1] Σουήβων R. Steph., οὐήβων L. [2] τὸ added by Xyl.
[3] Τρηουήρων Bs., τριήρων L (but τρηουήροις xl. 32, 1).
[4] ἐθελονταὶ R. Steph., ἐθελοντὰς L.
[5] κἀκ Rk., καὶ L. [6] πορείας Xyl., ἀπορίας L.
[7] τούτους R. Steph., τούτοις L. [8] καὶ περὶ Rk., καίπερ L.

BOOK XXXIX

This was the work of the summer. But when the Romans were in winter quarters in friendly territory, the Tencteri and Usipetes, German tribes, partly because they were forced out from their homes by the Suebi and partly because they were invited over by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there, they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, and to ask for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain nothing, they at first promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and changed their mind; thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which was not expecting anything of the sort, and elated over this success, entered upon war. Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, and setting out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, he came upon them as they were taking their noonday rest and expecting no hostile move, inasmuch as their elders were with him. Rushing into the tents, he found great numbers of infantrymen who had not time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down amid the waggons where they were embarrassed by the presence of the women and the children scattered B.C. 55

παίδων ἀναμὶξ ὄντων ταραττομένους,[1] κατεφόνευσε.
3 τούς τε ἱππέας ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς
ἐπύθοντο τὸ γεγονός, πρός τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ὁρμή-
σαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας,
πέμψας ἐξήτησεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκδοθήσεσθαί σφας
προσεδόκησεν (οὐ γάρ που οὕτως οἱ πέραν τοῦ
Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα αὐτῶν ἀκούειν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προ-
4 φάσει ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διαβαίη. αὐτός τε γὰρ
ὃ μηδείς πω πρότερον τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ ἐπεποιήκει,
δεινῶς πρᾶξαι ἐγλίχετο, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόρ-
ρωθεν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνείρξειν, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τὴν
οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβαλών,[2] προσεδόκησεν. ὡς οὖν
οὔτε οἱ ἱππῆς ἐξεδίδοντο, καὶ οἱ Οὔβιοι[3] ὅμοροί
τε τοῖς Συγάμβροις οἰκοῦντες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοῖς
ὄντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν
5 γεφυρώσας, εὑρὼν δὲ τούς τε Συγάμβρους ἐς τὰ
ἐρυμνὰ ἀνακεκομισμένους καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους συ-
στρεφομένους ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντάς σφισιν ἀνεχώ-
ρησεν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν.
49 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥῆνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων
τῶν Κελτικῶν,[4] ὀλίγον ἔξω τῆς Ῥαιτίας, προχω-
ρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τήν τε Γαλα-
τίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτήν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοὺς
Κελτοὺς ἀποτέμνεται, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ὠκεα-
2 νὸν ἐμβάλλει. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ὅρος, ἀφ' οὗ γε[5] καὶ
ἐς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλήσεων ἀφίκοντο,[6] δεῦρο
ἀεὶ νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ[7] τό γε πάνυ ἀρχαῖον Κελτοὶ

[1] ταραττομένους R. Steph., παραταττομένους L.
[2] ἐσβαλών Leuncl., ἐσβαλεῖν L.
[3] οἱ Οὔβιοι Leuncl., ἐούβιοι L.
[4] Κελτικῶν Xyl., κελτιβήρων L.
[5] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[6] ἀφίκοντο H. Steph., ἀφίκονται L.
[7] ἐπεὶ R. Steph., ἐπὶ L.

promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the B.C. 55
time, but as soon as they learned of the occurrence, they immediately set out for their homes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent and demanded their surrender, not because he expected them to be given up, since the people beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of the sort, but in order that on this excuse he might cross that river also. For he was exceedingly anxious on his own part to do something that no one of his predecessors had ever equalled, and he also expected to keep the Germans[1] at a distance from Gaul by invading their territory. When, therefore, the horsemen were not given up, and the Ubii, who dwelt alongside the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, bounds Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, and the Germans[1] on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This river has always down to the present time been considered the boundary, ever since these tribes gained their different names; for very anciently

[1] Literally Celts; see note on p. 269.

ἑκάτεροι οἱ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες ὠνομάζοντο.

50 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τόν τε Ῥῆνον πρῶτος τότε Ῥωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατευόντων,
2 ἐπεραιώθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει[1] μὲν τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Βελγικῆς[2] κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομώτατον, παρήκει δὲ παρά τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ[3] πέλαγος
3 ἀνατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ πρώτοις καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγιγνώσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἔπειτα ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν εἴτε ἤπειρος εἴτε καὶ νῆσος εἴη ἀφίκετο· καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερον, εἰδόσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἅτε μήτ' αὐτόπταις μήτ' αὐτηκόοις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένοις, τεκμαιρομένοις δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι[4] σχολῆς ἢ καὶ φιλολογίας εἶχον,
4 συγγέγραπται. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου πρότερόν τε ἐπ' Ἀγρικόλου ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος νῆσος οὖσα σαφῶς ἐλήλεγκται.

51 Ἐς ταύτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρίνους προσεποιήσατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάπλουν καθ' ὃ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ᾗ ἔδει προσέσχεν· οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθόμενοι τὰς κατάρσεις ἁπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἠπείρου
2 οὔσας προκατέλαβον. ἄκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν

[1] ἀπέχει Xyl. (and Xiph.), ἔχει L.
[2] Βελγικῆς Leuncl., βελτικῆς L.
[3] ἐς τὸ Xyl., ἔς τε τὸ L.
[4] ἕκαστοι R. Steph., ἑκάστοις L.

both peoples dwelling on either side of the river were called Celts. B.C. 55

Caesar, then, at this time was the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine, and later, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, he crossed over to Britain. This country is sixty miles[1] distant, by the shortest way, from the Belgic mainland, where the Morini dwell, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching out into the sea. To the very earliest of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island; and accounts of it have been written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen it with their own eyes nor heard about it from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in surmises according to the scholarly sect or the branch of learning to which they severally belonged. In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the propraetor, and now under the emperor Severus.

To this land, then, Caesar desired to cross, now that he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet. He made the passage with the infantry by the most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place; for the Britons, apprised beforehand of his voyage, had secured all the landings on the coast facing the mainland. Accordingly, he sailed around a certain projecting headland, coasted

[1] Literally 450 stades; cf. note on p. 237. It is interesting to compare Caesar's estimate (*B.G.* v. 2, 3) of thirty miles.

περιπλεύσας ἑτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη· κἀνταῦθα τοὺς προσμίξαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους
3 προσβαλόντας ἀπεώσατο. καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (ἁρματηλάται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἱππῆς ῥᾳδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπω τοῦ ἱππικοῦ αὐτοῖς παρόντος, διέφυγον), ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρός τε τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελλόμενα, καὶ ὅτι περαιωθῆναί τε ὅλως ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἠδυνήθησαν, πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μωρίνων τινάς, φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων, ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν
52 ὁμήρους αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἠθέλησαν, πονησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος καὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνουμένῳ καὶ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς (τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυ-
2 λάσσετο), δεξάμενοι δέ τινας ὡς καὶ ἐς φιλίαν τὴν χώραν σφῶν πρὸς κομιδὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πεμφθέντας, αὐτούς[1] τε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔφθειραν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ διὰ ταχέων τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπήμυνε) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν προσέβαλον. καὶ ἔπραξαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον
3 πρὶν πολλάκις σφαλῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ εἶχε γνώμην σπείσασθαι σφίσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε χειμὼν προσῄει, καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὴν τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν περιεβέβλητο ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, ἥ τε κομιζομένη ἔσφαλτο, καὶ οἱ Γαλάται πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεωτέρισαν,

[1] αὐτοὺς Leuncl., τοὺς L.

along on the other side of it, and disembarking B.C. 55
there in the shoals, conquered those who joined battle with him and gained a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed this attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for their forces consisted of chariot-drivers and cavalry and so easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the mainland and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini, who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. Upon his demanding hostages, they were willing at the time to give them; but when the Romans in the meantime began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged both the fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds, and though not attacking the invaders openly, since their camp was strongly guarded, they took some men who had been sent out to forage for provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came in haste. After that they assaulted the camp itself of the Romans. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not make terms, however, until they had been defeated many times. Indeed, Caesar would have had no thought of making peace with them at all, except that the winter was approaching and that he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, since the additional force coming to his aid had met with mishap, and also that the Gauls in view of his absence had begun an uprising; so he

*καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὁμήρους καὶ τότε
πλείους αἰτήσας μέν, λαβὼν δὲ ὀλίγους.*
53 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταρα-
χθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν[1] ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε
ἑαυτῷ μήτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλὴν τοῦ
ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς[2] δόξαι. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ οἱ οἴκοι Ῥωμαῖοι
2 θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο· ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν
ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα
ὁρῶντές σφισι γεγονότα, τήν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ
αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον,
καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξειν[3] προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ
ἔχοντες ἤδη ἠγάλλοντο.
Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν
54 ἡμέρας ἀγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἐγί-
γνετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία ἐκινήθη, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ
προσετάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες[4] γάρ τινες καὶ Οὐακ-
καίους προστησάμενοι μάχῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέπωτος
τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἔτ' ὄντες, ἡττήθησαν,
2 πολιορκοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ Κλουνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμεί-
νους ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν περιεποιήσαντο,
ἑτέρωθι δὲ ἐσφάλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου
δουλωθῆναι. τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων
περιῆσαν, ὥστε τὸν Νέπωτα ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τὴν ἡσυ-
χίαν ἀκινδύνως ἄγῃ.
55 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ ὁ
Πτολεμαῖος, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τήν τε ἐπικου-
ρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δωροδοκίας τὰς
ὑπ'[5] αὐτοῦ γενομένας δεινῶς ἔτι καὶ τότε δια-

[1] μηδὲν Leuncl., μηδὲν μήτε L. [2] αὐτοὺς Leuncl., αὐτὰς L.
[3] καταπράξειν R. Steph., καταπρήξειν L.
[4] ἐπαναστάντες Bk., προσαναστάντες L. [5] ὑπ' St., ἀπ' L.

reluctantly concluded a truce with them, demanding many hostages this time also, but obtaining only a few. B.C. 55

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

While this was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and put themselves under the leadership of the Vaccaei. While still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; elsewhere they were defeated, though not sufficiently to cause their early enslavement. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans had voted not to assist him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had

κειμένων, κατήχθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκομίσατο.
2 ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος·
τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἵ τε δυναστεῖαι καὶ αἱ τῶν χρημά-
των περιουσίαι καὶ παρὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τά τε
3 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἴσχυσαν, ὥστε
ἐπιστείλας μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Γαβινίῳ τῆς Συ-
ρίας τότε ἄρχοντι, στρατεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μὲν
τῇ χάριτι ὁ δὲ τῇ δωροληψίᾳ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτὸν
τοῦ κοινοῦ κατήγαγον, μηδὲν μήτε ἐκείνου μήτε
4 τῶν τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμῶν φροντίσαντες. καὶ
ἐκρίθη μὲν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γαβίνιος, οὐχ
ἑάλω δὲ διά τε τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα·
οὕτω γάρ που τὰ πράγματα τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις
συνεκέχυτο[1] ὥστε ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἐδωροδόκησε
σμικρὰ ἄττα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τινὲς καὶ τῶν δικα-
στῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οὔτε τοῦ προσήκοντός
τι προετίμησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
κακουργεῖν ὑπὲρ[2] χρημάτων ἐξεδίδαξαν ὡς καὶ
5 τὴν τιμωρίαν ῥᾳδίως ἐξωνεῖσθαι δυναμένους. τότε
μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀφείθη, αὖθις δὲ ἐπί τε ἑτέροις
τισί, καὶ ὅτι πλέον ἢ μυρίας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς μυριά-
δας ἥρπασε, κριθεὶς ἑάλω. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε τοῦτο
παραδοξότατον συνέβη (τῆς τε γὰρ προτέρας δίκης
διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἀπελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις δι'
6 ἐκείνην ὅτι μάλιστα κατεδικάσθη[3]) καὶ τῷ Πομ-
πηίῳ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον, καίτοι πόρρω που ὤν,
ἐρρύσατο τὸν Γαβίνιον διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, τότε δὲ
ἔν τε τῷ προαστείῳ ὢν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ
δικαστηρίῳ αὐτῷ παρὼν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν.

[1] συνεκέχυτο Oddey, συνέχυτο L. [2] ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L.
[3] κατεδικάσθη Rk., ἐδικάσθη L.

employed, was nevertheless restored and got back his kingdom. Pompey and Gabinius accomplished this. So much power had official authority and abundant wealth as against the decrees of both the people and the senate, that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, and the latter made a campaign, the one acting out of kindness and the other as the result of a bribe, they restored the king contrary to the wish of the state, paying no heed either to it or to the oracles of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey's influence and the money at his command was not convicted. To such a state of confusion had affairs come with the Romans of that day, that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him but a very small part of the large bribes that he had received, they took no thought for their duty, and furthermore taught others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charges—chiefly that he had plundered more than a hundred million [denarii] from the province—and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by his wealth he had freed himself from the former suit, whereas he was now condemned for his wealth chiefly because of that suit. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the very court-room, he accomplished nothing. B.C. 55

56 Ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε. ὁ Γαβίνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ληστικῶν, ἃ καὶ τότε ἤκμαζε, πολὺ πλείω σφίσι λυμήνασθαι, πάντα δὲ δὴ τὰ αὐτόθεν λήμματα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι νομίσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνόει[1] καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τόν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν
2 στρατεύσων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων δολοφονηθέντος Ὀρώδης τήν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ἧς ἦρχεν, ἐξέβαλε. καὶ ὃς καταφυγὼν πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπρᾶξαί οἱ
3 τὴν κάθοδον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἤδη παρέξειν, τὰ δ᾿ ἂν καταχθῇ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τά τε τῶν Πάρθων εἴασε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον
4 ἠπείχθη, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μὲν τοῦ νόμου μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑπερορίαν τοὺς ἄρχοντάς τινων ἀποδημεῖν μήτε πολέμους ἀφ᾿ ἑαυτῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀλλ᾿ ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο
5 ταῦτα, τόσῳ πλείονος αὐτὰ ἀπημπόλησε. καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐφ᾿ ἧς ἐτέτακτο τοῖς λησταῖς
6 ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τόν τε Ἀριστόβουλον (διαδρὰς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπετάραττέ τι) συνέλαβε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔπεμψε, καὶ φόρον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέταξε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνέβαλε.

[1] ἐνόει Xyl., ἐνόσει L.

BOOK XXXIX

This was the way ot it. Gabinius had harried Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting far more injury upon the people than did the pirates, who were flourishing even then. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at first planning and preparing to make a campaign against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates, it seems, had been treacherously murdered by his sons, and Orodes after succeeding to the kingdom had expelled Mithridates, his brother, from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to assist in his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey's letter and promised that he would furnish large sums both to him and the army, some to be paid at once, and the rest when he should be restored, Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did notwithstanding the law forbade governors to enter territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations imposed was to lead him to sell his assistance for a higher price. He left in Syria his son Sisenna, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, thus exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome and was causing some disturbance, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews, and after this invaded Egypt. B.C. 55

57 Ἦρχε δὲ τότε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ
ἐπιεικὲς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν . . ., καίτοι φοβου-
μένη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἔπραξε, Σέλευκον δέ τινα,
ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους τοῦ ποτε ἐν τῇ
Συρίᾳ ἀνθήσαντος ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε
ἐπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ
2 τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν οὐδενὸς
μοίρᾳ ὢν ἑωρᾶτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀρ-
χέλαον δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλ-
λαν αὐτομολήσαντος, δραστήριόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν
τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν δίαιταν ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπη-
γάγετο.[1] ὁ γὰρ Γαβίνιος ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον
τὸ δεινὸν παῦσαι (τὸν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαον προϋποτο-
πήσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ τούτου μηδὲν ἔτ'
3 ἔργον ἕξειν), φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττω διὰ τοῦ-
το παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ὡμολογημένων οἱ
χρημάτων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον πεποιηκώς, λάβοι,
καὶ ἐλπίσας ἔτι καὶ πλείω πρός τε τὴν δεινότητα
καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου χρηματιεῖ-
σθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου
συχνὰ λαβών, ἐθελοντὴς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαδράντα
58 ἀφῆκε. καὶ οὕτως[2] ἐς[3] μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφί-
κετο μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου, προϊὼν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν
δίχα διῃρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
ἀπαντήσαντάς οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτ' αὖθις ἔν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ κἀν τῇ γῇ
ἐκράτησεν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς θρασύνασθαι μὲν
πρὸς πάντα ἱκανώτατοι καὶ ἐκλαλῆσαι πᾶν ὅ τι
ποτ' ἂν ἐπέλθῃ σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι,
2 πρὸς δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τά τε δεινὰ αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα-

[1] ἐπηγάγετο Rk., ὑπηγάγετο L. [2] οὕτως Fabr., οὗτος L.
[3] ἐς Reim., ὡς L.

BOOK XXXIX

Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, B.C. 55
and though she feared the Romans, she took no steps suitable [to the emergency ?]; instead, she sent for one Seleucus who claimed to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, formally recognized him as her husband, and made him a partner in the kingdom and in the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem, she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla; he was an energetic man, living in Syria. Now Gabinius could have stopped the mischief in its beginning; for he had arrested Archelaus, who had already aroused his suspicion, and he seemed likely to have no further trouble from him. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less money that had been stipulated, on the ground that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received much money besides from the prisoner himself, and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped. Thus he reached Pelusium without encountering any opposition; and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrines are most ready to assume a bold front everywhere and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are utterly useless. This is true in

τοί εἰσι, καίπερ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείσταις δὴ καὶ μεγίσταις παρ' αὐτοῖς γιγνομέναις, διὰ φόνων τε ἀεὶ χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ζῆν παρ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἀρίστων ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων[1] τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς
3 ὄλεθρον διώκοντες. νικήσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γαβίνιος, καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον φονεύσας, ἐγκρατής τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ αὐτὴν παρέδωκε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν τήν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους, ἅτε καὶ χρημάτων
59 πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἀπέκτεινε· Γαβίνιος δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὕτω κατήγαγεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἴκαδε περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτάγγελός[2] σφισιν ὧν παρηνομήκει γένηται. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν τηλικοῦτο πρᾶγμα κρυφθῆναι, εὐθύς τε αὐτὸ[3] ὁ δῆμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι
2 πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβόησαν, οἵ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπρᾶξαι συχνὰ ἐπωφείλησαν, ὠργίζοντο καὶ γνώμας τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἑτοίμως εἶχον κατα-
3 ψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τά τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐνῆγε, καὶ συνεβούλευέ σφισι τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη αὖθις ἀναγνῶναι, προσδοκῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν ἄν τι[4] παρα-
60 βαθῇ.[5] ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ὅ τε Κράσσος ὑπάτευόν τε ἔτι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἐκείνου

[1] ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων Bk., ἀναγκαιότατον L.
[2] αὐτάγγελος Xyl., αὐταί γέλος L. [3] αὐτὸ Rk., αὐτὸς L.
[4] ἄν τι Bs., ὅτι L. [5] παραβαθῇ Bk., παρεβάνθη L.

spite of the fact that in seditions, which with them are very numerous and very serious, they always become involved in slaughter, setting no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were one of the best and dearest prizes. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he promptly gained control of all Egypt and handed it over to Ptolemy. The latter put to death his daughter and also the foremost and richest of the citizens, because he had need of much money. B.C. 55

Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home concerning what he had done, in order that he might not be the one to announce his own illegal acts. But it was not possible for an affair of such magnitude to be concealed, and the people straightway learned of it; for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they had been terribly abused by the pirates, and the tax-gatherers, being unable to collect the taxes on account of the marauders, were owing numerous sums. Angered at this, the people expressed their views and were ready to condemn him. For Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment in case any of their injunctions should be violated. Pompey and Crassus, now, were still consuls, and the former acted as his own interests dictated, while the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also

χάριν καὶ ἅμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου πεμφθέντα οἱ λαβών, ἔκ τε τοῦ προφανοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ ἄλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποκαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἐπεψήφισαν.
2 ὡς μέντοι ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Λούκιος καὶ Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος διεδέξαντο, γνῶμαι αὖθις πολλαὶ ἐλέχθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου αἱ πλείους ἐγένον-
3 το· ὅ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος ἐχθρὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διά τε τὸ σπουδαρχῆσαι καὶ διὰ[1] τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὤν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καίπερ προσήκων οἱ, ὅμως[2] τοῖς τε πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαί τι ὑπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐθελήσας, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου δωροδοκήσειν, ἄν γέ τι συνταράξῃ,
4 προσδοκήσας, πάντα ἐπ'[3] αὐτῷ ἔπραξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινῶς ἐπίεσεν,[4] ὅτι προπεμφθέντα τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διαδοχῇ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀθάνατον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφὼς κατεῖχεν αὐτήν. ἔδοξεν οὖν σφισι τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἔπη ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καίπερ[5] ἀντειπόντος[6] τοῦ Πομπηίου.

61 Κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Τίβερις, εἴτ' οὖν ὄμβρων ἄνω που ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαισίων γενομένων, εἴτε καὶ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐκροὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψαντος, εἴτε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινός, τοσοῦτος[7] ἐξαπιναίως ἐρρύη ὥστ' ἐν πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις

[1] διὰ R. Steph., δα L. [2] ὅμως R. Steph., ὅπως L.
[3] πάντα ἐπ' Bs. (ἐπ' already inserted by Bk.), πᾶν L.
[4] ἐπίεσεν Leuncl., ἔπεισεν L. [5] καίπερ Leuncl., διὸ καίπερ L.
[6] ἀντειπόντος Xyl., ἀνειπόντος L.
[7] τοσοῦτος Pflugk, τοσοῦτον L.

soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus B.C. 55 they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero "exile" among other names, and would not put the question to a vote. When, however, they had laid B.C. 54 down their office, and Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many opinions were expressed and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish; and Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause any disturbance. So both worked in every way against him. There was a further fact that weighed strongly against him: he had not received a certain lieutenant sent ahead by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but held on to the position as if he had received it for all time. They decided, therefore, that the verses of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition.

Meantime the Tiber, either because excessive rains had occurred somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea had driven back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, as was surmised, by the act of some divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the

τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει οὖσι πελαγίσαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
2 τῶν μετεωροτέρων καταλαβεῖν. αἵ τε οὖν οἰκίαι[1] (ἐκ πλίνθων γὰρ συνῳκοδομημέναι ἦσαν) διάβροχοί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατερράγησαν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ὑποβρύχια ἐφθάρη. τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι μὴ ἔφθησαν πρὸς τὰ πάνυ ὑψηλὰ ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν[2] ταῖς τέγαις[3] οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἐξώλοντο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ οἰκίαι, ἅτε ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ δεινοῦ συμβάντος, σαθραί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ πολλοῖς[4] τοῖς
3 μὲν εὐθὺς τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐλυμήναντο. οἱ[5] οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπί τ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς παθήμασι λυπούμενοι, καὶ ἕτερα χαλεπώτερα ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον ὀργήν σφισι τοῦ δαιμονίου πεποιημένου προσδεχόμενοι, ἠπείγοντο καὶ ἀπόντα τὸν Γαβίνιον, ὡς καὶ ἧττόν τι, ἂν φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν
4 ἀπολέσαντες, κακωθησόμενοι, θανατῶσαι. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐντόνως ἔσχον ὥστε, καίτοι μηδενὸς τοιούτου ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις χρησμοῖς εὑρεθέντος, ὅμως τὴν γερουσίαν πικρότατα καὶ τραχύτατα τούς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι προβουλεῦσαι.

62 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου προπεμφθέντα οὐχ ὅπως ἀπόντα ἀλλ'[6] οὐδὲ ἐπανελθόντα[7] δεινόν τι παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπί γε ἐκείνοις ἐποίησε.[8] καίτοι[9] οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διετέθη ὥστε καὶ χρόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς

[1] *οἰκίαι* added by R. Steph., from Xiph.
[2] *ἐν* added by Leuncl. [3] *τέγαις* R. Steph., *τέγναις* L.
[4] *πολλοῖς* Reim., *πολλοὶ* L. [5] *οἱ* R. Steph., *ὁ* L.
[6] *ἀλλ'* added by Xyl. [7] *ἐπανελθόντα* Rk., *ἐπελθόντα* L.
[8] *ἐποίησε* St., *ποιῆσαι* L. [9] *καίτοι* Rk., *καὶ* L.

city and to overwhelm many even of the higher portions. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, became soaked through and collapsed, while all the animals perished in the flood. And of the people all who did not take refuge in time on the highest points were caught, either in their dwellings, or in the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too, became weakened, since the mischief lasted for many days, and they caused injuries to many, either at the time or later. The Romans, distressed at these calamities and expecting others yet worse, because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were in haste to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him before his return. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a decree that the magistrates and populace should accord him the bitterest and harshest treatment. B.C. 54

While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused him to suffer no serious penalty either while absent or upon his return, at least for this affair. And yet he was brought by his own conscience to such a wretched and miserable state that he long delayed coming to Italy, and entered the

τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομισθῆναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας[1]
2 συχναῖς πάνυ ἡμέραις μὴ τολμῆσαι φανῆναι. τὰ
μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρους οὐκ
ὀλίγους εἶχε· πρῶτον δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολε-
μαίου καθόδου, ἅτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἐδικάσθη. καὶ
ὅ γε δῆμος σύμπας ὡς εἰπεῖν πρός τε τὸ δικαστή-
ριον συνερρύη καὶ διασπάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν
ἠθέλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οὔθ' ὁ Πομπήιος παρῆν
καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν.
3 οὕτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὅμως ἀφείθη·[2] αὐτός
τε γάρ, ἅτε ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενος, παμπληθῆ
χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ τε
Καίσαρος ἑταῖροι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ συνήραντο,
λέγοντες ἄλλον τέ τινα καιρὸν καὶ ἄλλον βασιλέα
πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι
μηδεμία τῶν πραχθέντων τιμωρία ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν
αὐτῆς ἐνεγέγραπτο.

63 Ὁ δ' οὖν δῆμος ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς
ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπετήρει τὰ
λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις
2 γοῦν αὐτὸν ἁλῶναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχόντες περὶ αὐτῶν
κρῖναι, τό τε πλῆθος ἅμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν
μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου εὑρόμενοι (ὡς[3] γὰρ ἐπί
τε βραχυτέροις εὐθυνόμενος καὶ προσδοκῶν καὶ
τότε κρατήσειν οὐ πολλὰ ἐδαπάνησε) κατεψηφί-
σαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι τοῦ τε Πομπηίου πλησίον
ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορεύοντος[4] αὐτῷ.
3 ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου πρόνοιαν,
ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδη-
μήσας ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρότερον δικα-

[1] οἰκίας Leuncl., ἰταλίας L. [2] ὅμως ἀφείθη Rk., ἀφείθη L.
[3] ὡς Bk., ὃ L. [4] συναγορεύοντος Xyl., ἀγορεύοντος L.

city by night, and for a considerable number of days did not dare to appear outside of his house. For the complaints were many and he had an abundance of accusers. First, then, he was tried for the restoration of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically the whole populace surged into the court-house and often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with all the force of his oratory. And yet, though this was their attitude, he was acquitted. For not only he himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on which he was being tried, spent vast sums of money, but the associates of Pompey and Caesar also very willingly aided him, declaring that a different time and different king were meant by the Sibyl, and, most important of all, that no punishment for his deeds was contained in her verses. B.C. 54

The people accordingly were almost for putting the jurymen to death also, but, when they escaped, turned their attention to the remaining charges against him and caused him to be convicted on those at any rate. For the men who were chosen by lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared the people and likewise obtained but little from Gabinius; for he felt that he was being brought to book for minor matters only, and expecting to win this time also, he did not spend much. Hence they condemned him, even though Pompey was near at hand and Cicero acted as his counsel. For Pompey had been away from the city to provide for a supply of corn, since much had been ruined by the river, but hastened back to be present

στήριον ἀπαντήσων (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἦν), ὑστερήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ
4 προαστείου πρὶν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τελεσθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου (τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἤδη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἔχων οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν) ἀθροισθέντος πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματά τέ τινα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεμ-
5 φθέντα ἀνέγνω, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἱκέτευσε, τόν τε Κικέρωνα οὐχ ὅπως κατηγορῆσαι ἔτ' αὐτοῦ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδικῆσαι ἔπεισεν,[1] ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἔγκλημα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπὶ πλεῖόν οἱ αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὠφέλησέ τι τὸν Γαβίνιον, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν ἁλούς, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήχθη.

64 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πομπηίου γυνὴ θυγάτριόν τι τεκοῦσα ἀπέθανε, καὶ αὐτήν, εἴτε διαπραξαμένων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως χαρίσασθαί τινες αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρπασαν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπαίνων ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἔθαψαν, καίτοι τοῦ Δομιτίου ἀνθισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ ἄνευ τινὸς ψηφίσματος θάπτοιτο.

65 Κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πομπτῖνος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔπεμψεν· ἐς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου, μηδενός οἱ διδόντος αὐτά, ἔξω τοῦ πω-
2 μηρίου διέμεινε. καὶ τότε δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἥμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος συστρατευσάμενος

[1] ἔπεισεν Reim., καὶ ἔπεισεν L.

at the first trial (for he was in Italy); and when he missed that, he did not retire from the suburbs until the other also was finished. In fact when the people assembled outside the pomerium (since, as he already held the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the city), he addressed them at length in behalf of Gabinius, and not only read to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man's behalf, but also besought the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the charge and epithet of "turn-coat" was applied to the orator more than ever.[1] Gabinius, however, was not helped at all by Cicero, but was now convicted and exiled, as I have stated, though he was later restored by Caesar. B.C. 54

At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of his friends and Caesar's or because there were some who wished in any case to do them a favour, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. It was in vain that Domitius opposed them and declared among other things that it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree.

At this time Gaius Pomptinus celebrated a triumph over the Gauls; for as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had up to that time remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, a praetor, who had made

[1] Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2.

αὐτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω στρατηγῶν τὴν ψῆφόν τισι (καίπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν πρώτην ὥραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι χρηματισθῆναι) ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γοῦν τῇ πομπῇ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχον, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς συμβῆναι.

the campaign with him, granted as praetor to certain persons secretly and just before dawn the privilege of voting—this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be brought before the people before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the assembly, caused him trouble in the procession, at any rate, so that there was some bloodshed. B.C. 54

BOOK XL

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Βρεττανίαν διέπλευσεν.
β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοῖς Γαλάταις αὖθις ἐπολέμησεν.
γ. Ὡς Κράσσος Πάρθοις πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.
δ. Περὶ Πάρθων.
ε. Ὡς Κράσσος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο.
ζ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο.
η. Ὡς Μίλων Κλώδιον ἀποκτείνας κατεδικάσθη.
θ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Δομιτίου καὶ Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τέτταρα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υἱ. Καλουῖνος[1]
Μ. Οὐαλέριος . . . Μεσσάλας[2] ὑπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος[3] Γν. υἱ. Μάγνος τὸ γ̄
Κ. Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Σκιπίων Νασικοῦ υἱ. ὑπ.

Σέρουιος[4] Σουλπίκιος Κ. υἱ. Ῥοῦφος
Μ. Κλαύδιος Μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος ὑπ.

Λ. Αἰμίλιος[5] Μ. υἱ. Παῦλος
Γ. Κλαύδιος Γ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος[6] ὑπ.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα, τότε ἑπτακόσια ἔτη ἀγούσῃ, ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Λουκίου[7] καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τοῦ Ἀππίου ὑπάτων τά τε

[1] Καλουῖνος Xyl., καλουινιος L.
[2] Μεσσάλας added by Xyl.
[3] Γν. Πομπήιος added by Xyl.
[4] Σέρουιος Xyl., σερπος L.

BOOK XL

The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's *Rome*:—

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitius and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
53 Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus, M. Valerius . . . Messalla.
52 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (III), C. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasicae F.
51 Servius Sulpicius Q. F. Rufus, M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
50 L. Aemilius M. F. Paulus, C. Claudius C. F. Marcellus.

THESE were the occurrences in Rome while the city was passing through its seven-hundredth year. In Gaul during the year of these same consuls, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, Caesar among other B.C. 54

[5] Λ. Αἰμίλιος Xyl., δαιμιλίου L. [6] Line supplied by Xyl.
[7] τοῦ Λουκίου Bk., αὐτοῦ λευκίου L.

ἄλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίδων, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα καὶ κουφίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κῦμα ἀντέχωσιν, ἐπί τε τοῦ ξηροῦ ἱστάμεναι μὴ λυμαί-
2 νωνται, παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλόιμα ἐγένετο,[1] ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν αὖθις ἐπεραιώθη, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὁμήρους οὓς ὑπέσχοντό οἱ ἐπεπόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτόν, ὅτι διὰ κενῆς τότε ἀνεχώρησε, μηκέτ' αὖθίς σφων πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ δεινῶς τῆς νήσου ἐφιέμενος, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, πάντως ἂν
3 ἄλλην τινὰ σκῆψιν εὑρεῖν. κατῆρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχόσε ἅμα αὐτὰς κατασχεῖν τολμήσαντος ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὸ[2] ναύστα-
2 θμον εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν μὲν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ ταῦτα κωλῦσαι, δείσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ἅτε καὶ στρατῷ πλείονι αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἐς τὸ λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχμωδέστατον τῶν ἐγγὺς
2 χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιησάμενοι (τά τε γὰρ πέριξ ξύλα ἔκοψαν, καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνένησαν, ὥστε ἐν χαρακώματι τρόπον τινὰ εἶναι) ἔπειτα τοὺς προνομεύοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλύπουν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχῃ τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψιλῷ ἡττηθέντες ὑπήγαγόν σφας ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ
3 συχνοὺς ἀνταπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο χειμῶνος αὖθις τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν λυμηναμένου συμμάχους τε προσμετεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νεώριόν σφων

[1] ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. [2] τὸ Rk., τὸν L.

undertakings constructed ships of a style half-way B.C. 54
between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavouring to make them at once as light and as seaworthy as possible and capable of being left high and dry without injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never make trial of them again because he had once retired empty-handed, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; but the truth of the matter was that he mightily coveted the island, so that he would certainly have found some other pretext, if this had not offered itself. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and the fact that they approached many points on the shore at the same time; and he straightway got possession of the harbour. The barbarians, then, for the reason stated were unable to hinder his approach, and being more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, they carried away all their most valuable things into the most wooded and overgrown portions of the neighbouring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until their goods were in a sort of stockade, they proceeded to annoy the Romans' foraging parties. Indeed, after being defeated in a certain battle on open ground they drew the invaders in pursuit to their retreat, and killed many in their turn. Soon after, when a storm had once more damaged the Romans' ships, the natives sent for allies and set out against their naval

ὥρμησαν, Κασουελλανὸν[1] τὸν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν[2] ἐν
4 τῇ νήσῳ δυναστῶν φερόμενον προστησάμενοι. καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐταράχθησαν τῇ τῶν ἁρμάτων σφῶν προσμίξει,
ἔπειτα δὲ διιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε παρεξιέντες
καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια[3] βάλλοντες,
3 ἀνίσωσαν[4] τὴν μάχην. καὶ τότε μὲν κατὰ χώραν
ἀμφότεροι ἔμειναν· αὖθις δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ μὲν
πεζοῦ κρείττους γενόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἵππου
κακωθέντες, πρός τε τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀνεχώρησαν,
καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτοῦ σταυροῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἐμφανέσι
τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑφύδροις, διαλαβόντες ηὐλίσαντο.
2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ[5] ἐκείνους τε ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε σταύρωμα
προσβολῇ βιαίᾳ ἐκλιπεῖν ἠνάγκασε καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρείᾳ ἐξήλασε,
καὶ τοὺς προσβάλλοντάς σφων τῷ ναυστάθμῳ
ἕτεροι ἀπεώσαντο, κατέδεισαν καὶ κατελύσαντο
ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ φόρον ἐτήσιον ταξάμενοι.
4 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπῆρε παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς
νήσου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ·
ἐκεῖνό τε γὰρ κινδυνεύσειν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πῃ χειμά-
ζον, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς
Γαλατίας ἀποδημῆσαι νομίζων, ἠγάπησε τοῖς
παροῦσι, μὴ[6] καὶ μειζόνων ὀριγνώμενος καὶ περὶ
2 ἐκείνοις σφαλῇ. καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διεδείχθη·
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ
παραχειμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, καίτοι φρουροὺς ὡς
ἕκαστοι πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὅμως ἐνεόχμωσαν, καί

[1] Κασουελλανὸν Reim., και σουελλανὸν L.
[2] τῶν added by Leuncl. [3] πλάγια Rk., πλαίσια L.
[4] ἀνίσωσαν Rk., ἀνέσωσαν L. [5] δὲ Rk., τε L.
[6] μὴ added by R. Steph.

arsenal itself, with Cassivellaunus, regarded as the foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and then from the side hurling their weapons at the men as they rushed past, made the battle equal. For the time being both parties remained where they were. Later, however, the barbarians, after proving victorious over the infantry but being defeated by the cavalry, withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after cutting off the ford by means of stakes, some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the stockade and later on by siege drove them from their fortress, while others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the ships in the harbour. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute. B.C. 54

Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these. It seemed that here again he had done right, as was, indeed, proved by the event. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each nation contained many garrisons, nevertheless became restless and some of them

τινες αὐτῶν καὶ φανερῶς ἐπανέστησαν. ὅπερ εἰ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ καταμείναντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐγεγόνει, πάντα ἂν τὰ τῇδε ἐτετάρακτο.

5 Ἦρξαν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου Ἐβουρωνοί,[1] ἡγουμένου[2] σφίσιν Ἀμβιόριγος. καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὧν[3] ὅ τε Σαβῖνος καὶ Λούκιος Κόττας ὑποστράτηγοι ἦρχον, ἀχθόμενοι κεκινῆσθαι· τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐκείνων τε κατεφρόνησαν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἀμῦναι σφᾶς ἐσομένων, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐκ ἤλπισαν διὰ ταχέων σφίσιν
2 ἐπιστρατεύσειν. ἐπῆλθόν τε οὖν αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αἱρήσοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήμαρτον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐτράποντο. τῶν γὰρ χωρίων τὰ ἐπιτηδειότατα ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προλοχίσας ἦλθεν ἐξ ἐπικηρυκείας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐχ ἑκὼν δὴ
3 πολεμήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεταγιγνώσκειν ἔφη, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους φυλάττεσθαί σφισι παρήνεσεν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκείνοις[4] μέλλειν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κἀκ τούτου καὶ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τὴν μὲν Ἐβουρωνίαν, ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσουσιν[5] ἂν καταμείνωσι, καταλιπεῖν, πρὸς δὲ συστρατιώτας τινὰς πέλας που χειμάζοντας ὡς
6 τάχιστα μεταστῆναι. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι εὐηργέτητο πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι[6] ἐδόκει. συσκευασάμενοί τε

[1] Ἐβουρωνοί Xyl., ἐβουρων οἱ L.
[2] ἡγουμένου R. Steph., ἡγούμενοι L.
[3] ὧν supplied by Leuncl. [4] ἐκείνοις Xyl., ἐκείνους L.
[5] κινδυνεύσουσιν Reim., κινδυνεύσωσιν L.
[6] ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι v. Herw., ταύτην ἀνταποδιδόναι Naber, τὰ ὑπεναντία διδόναι L.

openly revolted. Now if this had happened while B.C. 54
he was staying in Britain through the winter season, all Gaul would have been in a turmoil.

This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They claimed they had been roused to action because they were annoyed at the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. The truth was, however, that they scorned those officers, thinking they would not prove competent to defend their men and not expecting that Caesar would quickly make an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. For Ambiorix, after planting ambuscades in the most suitable spots, came to the Romans after sending a herald to arrange for a parley, and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry; but against the others he advised them to be on their guard, for his countrymen would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, since they would be in danger if they remained, and should move on as quickly as possible to some of their comrades who were wintering near by. Upon hearing this the Romans believed him, especially as Ambiorix had received many favours from Caesar and seemed to be repaying his kindness in this way. They

σπουδῇ εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἀφώρμησαν, καὶ
ἐμπεσόντες ἐς τὰ λελοχισμένα δεινῶς ἐσφάλησαν·
2 ὅ τε γὰρ Κόττας παραχρῆμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώ-
λετο, καὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο
μὲν ὡς καὶ σώσων (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς γιγνομένοις
παρῆν, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἔτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι),
συλλαβὼν δὲ δή, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ
τὴν ἐσθῆτα, κατηκόντισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ
ὅτι τοιοίδε μέντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλικούτων ἡμῶν
3 ὄντων ἄρχειν ἐθέλετε; οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπαθον·
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέπεσον μὲν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὅθεν
ἀπανειστήκεσαν,[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἵ τε βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκεῖ
προσέμιξαν καὶ οὔτ' ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε δια-
φυγεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν.

7 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν πλησιο-
χώρων ἀπέστησαν καὶ Νέρουιοι, καίτοι Κυίντου
Κικέρωνος παρ' αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντος· ἀδελφὸς δὲ
τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν, ὑποστρατηγῶν τῷ
Καίσαρι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προσλαβὼν
2 συνέβαλε τῷ Κικέρωνι· καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνι-
σάμενος, καί τινας καὶ ζῶντας ἑλών, ἀπατῆσαι
μέν πῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔς
τε πολιορκίαν αὐτὸν κατέστησε, καὶ διὰ ταχέων
ὑπό τε τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἣν
ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἣν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπε-
ποίητο ἐκέκτητο, καί τινα καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμα-
λώτων ἑκάστων[2] μαθών, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ
3 ἀπετάφρευσεν. ἐγίγνοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάχαι, οἷα
ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰκὸς ἦν, συχναί, καὶ ἀπώλλυντο
πολὺ πλείους τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε καὶ πλείους

[1] ἀπανειστήκεσαν Dind., ἀπανεστήκεσαν L.
[2] ἑκάστων St., ἂν ἑκάστων L.

hastily packed up their belongings, and setting out just after nightfall, fell into the ambush, where they suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately. Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not present at the ambush and at that time was still thought to be trustworthy; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boastful words over him, such as these: "How can such creatures as you wish to rule us who are so great?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the camp from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another. B.C. 54

After this event some others of the neighbouring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and engaged in battle with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him also in some manner, but being unable to do so, besieged him. Thanks to his large force and the experience which he had gained from his service with the Romans, together with information that he obtained from the individual captives, he quickly managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were numerous battles, as was natural in such a situation, and far larger numbers of the barbarians perished, because there were more of

ὄντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ[1] τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μήτε ἄλλως πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐλάττους ἀεὶ γιγνόμενοι ῥᾳδίως περι-
8 εστοιχίσθησαν. κινδυνευόντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἁλῶναι (οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐδύναντο, οὔτε τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως, ἅτε ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ πολιορκίᾳ, εἶχον· οὐδ' ἐπήμυνέ τις αὐτοῖς, καίτοι πολλῶν οὐκ ἄπωθεν χειμαζόντων· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀκριβῶς φυλάσσοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεμπομένους σφῶν συνελάμβανον κἀν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐφόνευον)
2 Νέρουιός τις εὐνοϊκῶς σφισιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας ἔχων, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκούμενος, δοῦλόν τινα ἑαυτοῦ διάγγελον αὐτῷ παρέσχεν· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς σκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἠδυνήθη λαθεῖν συγγενόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὢν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας.

9 Μαθὼν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γιγνόμενον (οὐδέπω δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ἦν) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, δι' ὧν διῄει, στρατιώτας παραλαμβάνων ἠπείγετο. κἀν τούτῳ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ Κικέρων ἀπογνώσει τῆς βοηθείας δεινόν τι παθὼν ἢ καὶ συνθέμενος, προ-
2 έπεμψεν ἱππέα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰκέτῃ τῷ τοῦ[2] Νερουίου, καίτοι πεῖραν ἔργῳ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ λαβών, οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατριώτας ἐλεήσας μέγα τι κακόν σφας ἐξεργάσηται· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν συμμάχων ἱππέα τήν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν

[1] ὑπὸ R. Steph., περὶ L. [2] τοῦ added by R. Steph.

them. They, however, by reason of the multitude B.C. 54
of their army did not feel their loss at all, whereas the Romans, who were not numerous in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were hemmed in without difficulty. They were unable to care for their wounds through lack of the necessary appliances, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance; for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and caught all who were sent out and slaughtered them before the eyes of their friends. Now when they were in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them as the result of kindness shown him and was at this time besieged with Cicero, furnished a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his speech, which was that of the natives, he was able to mingle with the enemy as one of their number without attracting notice, and afterwards went his way.

In this way Caesar, who had not yet returned to Italy but was still on the way, learned of what was taking place, and turning back, he took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile, being afraid that Cicero, in despair of assistance, might suffer disaster or even capitulate, he sent a horseman on ahead. For he did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will, fearing that he might pity his countrymen and work the Romans some great evil; so he sent a horseman of the allies who knew the

εἰδότα καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐκείνων σκευασθέντα
3 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ' αὐτός τι μήτ' οὖν ἐθε-
λοντὴς μήτ' ἄκων ἐξείπῃ, οὔτε τι αὐτῷ ἐξελάλησε,
καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ' ὅσα ἠβουλήθη ἑλληνιστὶ
ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα ἂν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἁλῷ, ἀλλ'
ἀσύνετά γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντα μηδέν
σφας ἐκδιδάξῃ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὁπότε τι δι'
ἀπορρήτων τινὶ ἐπέστελλε, τὸ τέταρτον ἀεὶ στοι-
χεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως ἂν
4 ἄγνωστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ᾖ τὰ γραφόμενα. ὁ δ' οὖν
ἱππεὺς ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρα-
τόπεδον, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἐγγύθεν αὐτῷ προσμῖξαι
συνέδησε τὰ γράμματα ἀκοντίῳ, καὶ ὡς ἱεὶς [1] αὐτὸ
ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς πύργον ἐξεπίτηδες προσ-
έπηξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κικέρων οὕτω τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ
Καίσαρος μαθὼν ἀνεθάρσησε καὶ προθυμότερον
10 διεκαρτέρησεν· οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν
τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ἠγνόησαν (νυκτοπορῶν γὰρ
ἔπειτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίοις ηὐλί-
ζετο, ὅπως ἀπροσδοκήτοις ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς
προσμίξῃ), ὀψὲ δέ ποτε ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολιορκου-
μένων περιχαρείας ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὴν προσκό-
πους ἔπεμψαν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτῶν πλησιά-
ζοντα ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς
2 καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ προσπεσούμενοι. προμαθὼν οὖν
τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τήν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ
ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν προκαταλαβὼν
ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῦ
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πορείας
πεπονῆσθαι τήν τε ἔφοδόν σφων δεδιέναι, κἀκ τού-
του καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι.[2]

[1] ὡς ἱεὶς Polak, ὥσας L. [2] ὑπαγαγέσθαι Reim., ἀπαγαγέσθαι L.

dialect of the Eburones and was dressed in their garb. B.C. 54
And in order that even he might not reveal anything, voluntarily or involuntarily, he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all that he wished to say, in order that even if the letter were captured, it should even so be meaningless to the barbarians and afford them no information. In fact, it was his usual practice, whenever he was sending a secret message to any one, to substitute in every case for the proper letter of the alphabet the fourth letter beyond, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. Now the horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it, he fastened the letter to a javelin, and acting as if he were hurling it against the enemy, fixed it purposely in a tower. Thus Cicero learned of the approach of Caesar, and so took courage and held out more zealously. But the barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance Caesar was bringing; for he journeyed by night, bivouacking by day in very obscure places, in order that he might fall upon them as unexpectedly as possible. But they finally grew suspicious because of the excessive cheerfulness of the besieged and sent out scouts; and learning from them that Caesar was already drawing near, they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. He learned of it in time and remained where he was that night, and just before dawn took up a strong position. There he encamped seemingly in the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, and to fear an attack from them, and so in this manner to draw them to the higher ground.

3 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταῦτα πρός τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλως ἔπταισαν, ὥστε μηκέτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι.

11 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι[1] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν. οἱ γοῦν Τρήουηροι φοβηθέντες, ἐπειδήπερ[2] τοὺς παρ' ἑκάστοις πρώτους[3] ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταπέμπων ἐκόλαζε, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην δῶσιν,
2 ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὖθις αὐτοῖς, Ἰνδουτιομάρου[4] σφᾶς ἀναπείσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον τὸν Τίτον ἐν Ῥημοῖς ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθάρησαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχείμασεν ὡς καὶ ἀκριβῶς σφας
12 καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτὸς δόξης τε ἅμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πρᾶξαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοιοῦτό τι εἶδεν ὄν (αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἡσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθε προσπολεμήσαντές σφισιν οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας[5] παρεκίνουν), ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μήτε ἔγκλημά τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων μήτε τοῦ πολέμου οἱ ἐψηφισμένου· αὐτούς τε γὰρ παμπλουσίους ἤκουεν ὄντας, καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην εὐάλωτον ἅτε καὶ νεοκατάστατον εἶναι προσεδόκησε.
2 τόν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τε αὐτὴν καὶ

[1] ἐκεῖνοι Xyl., ἐκεῖνος L. [2] ἐπειδήπερ Reim., ἐπειδὴ πρὸς L.
[3] πρώτους supplied by Reim.
[4] Ἰνδουτιομάρου Reim. (as L in chap. 31, 2), ἰνδυοτιμάρου L.
[5] ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας Bk., ὑπὸ δυναστείας L.

BOOK XL

And thus it turned out; for in their contempt of him because of this move they charged up hill, and met with so severe a defeat that they carried on the war against him no longer. B.C. 54

In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; but they did not feel kindly toward the Romans. At any rate, the Treveri, when Caesar was sending for the principal men of each tribe and punishing them, became afraid that they, too, might have to pay the penalty; and upon the advice of Indutiomarus, they began war against the Romans once more; and they led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and made an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but they were destroyed when the Romans made an unexpected sally.

These were the events that took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there, thinking that he would be able to bring the Gauls under strict control. But Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that involved glory and at the same time profit, and seeing that no such thing was possible in Syria, where the people themselves were quiet, and those who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their powerlessness causing no disturbance, made a campaign against the Parthians. He had no complaint to bring against them nor had the war been assigned to him; but he heard that they were exceedingly wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because he was but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and advanced far into Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. For since his

πορθῶν· τῆς γὰρ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἀδοκήτου τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένης οὐδεμία ἀκριβὴς φυλακὴ αὐτῆς καθειστήκει, ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ[1] Σιλάκης[2] ὁ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεύων ἡττήθη τε περὶ Ἰχνίας, τεῖχός τι οὕτω καλούμενον, ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις μαχεσάμενος, καὶ τρωθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτάγγελος[3] τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτοῦ
13 γενησόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τά τε φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας μάλιστα, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ὠνομασμένον, προσεποιήσατο· τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἄποικοι πολλοί, . . .[4] βίᾳ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἐλπίζοντες, οὐκ ἀκου-
2 σίως μεθίσταντο· πλήν τε ὅτι οἱ[5] Ζηνοδοτίου οἰκήτορες μετέπεμψάν τινας αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μεταστησόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, ἀπέλαβόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεινὸν οὔτε ἔπραξε τότε
3 Κράσσος οὔτε ἔπαθε. πάντως δὲ κἂν[6] τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Τίγριδος ὄντα ἐκεχείρωτο, εἰ τῇ τε ἑαυτοῦ ὁρμῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα ὁμοίως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατὰ χώραν χειμάσας ἐν φρουρᾷ αὐτὰ ἀκριβεῖ
4 ἐπεποίητο. νῦν δὲ ἑλὼν ὅσα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, οὔτε τι τῶν λοιπῶν οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῇ ἀχθεσθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ῥᾳστώνης

[1] ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Kidd, ταλυμενος L.
[2] Σιλάκης (Σιλλακῆς) Xyl., ειλακης L.
[3] αὐτάγγελος Leuncl., αὐτοῦ ἄγγελος L.
[4] Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων.
[5] ὅτι οἱ Reim. and Bk., οἵ τε L. [6] κἂν St., καὶ L.

crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no careful guard of the ford had been kept. Consequently Silaces, then satrap of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnae, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen; and being wounded, he retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion. Crassus, on his side, quickly won over the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. For colonists in great numbers, descendants of the Macedonians and of the other Greeks who had campaigned in Asia with them, readily transferred their allegiance to the Romans, since they were oppressed by the violence [of the barbarians (?)], and placed strong hopes in the invaders, whom they regarded as friends of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, however, on the pretence that they also were going to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, and then, when they were within the town, arrested and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Apart from this Crassus neither inflicted nor received any serious harm at that time. He certainly would have subdued also the other regions this side of the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage of his own quick attack and the barbarians' panic consistently in all respects, and also if he had wintered where he was, keeping strict watch of affairs. As it was, he captured only such places as he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor even to the places conquered, but vexed by the delay in Mesopotamia, and longing for the indolence B.C. 54

ἐπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο[1] τοῖς Πάρθοις καιρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατιώτας κακῶσαι.

14 Αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τίγριδος τὸ μὲν πολὺ τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἤδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλας τε καὶ Κτησιφῶντα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ βασίλεια[2] ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ γένος σφῶν ἦν μέν
2 που καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τό γε ὄνομα τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν βασιλείαν εἶχον· ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν αὐτοί τε ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεῖ ᾤκουν καὶ δυναστείαν ὑπερόριον οὐκ ἐκέκτηντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ[3] ἥ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤκμασεν, οἵ τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες ἄλλοι ἄλλα[4] ἀπετέμοντο καὶ βασιλείας ἰδίας κατεσκευάσαντο,
3 ἔς τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀρσάκου τινὸς ἀφίκοντο, ὅθενπερ καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα βασιλεύσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐτυχήσαντες τήν τε πλησιόχωρον ἐκτήσαντο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπείαις κατέσχον, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχώρησαν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε τε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζε-
4 σθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυροὶ τὰ πολέμια, μεῖζον δ' ὅμως ὄνομα, καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τι παρῃρημένοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔστιν ἃ προέμενοι, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδέπω δεδούλωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι[5] τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

[1] παρέσχετο Bk., παρέσχε τε L.
[2] βασίλεια Leuncl., βασιλέα L.
[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ Leuncl., ἐπειδὴ L.
[4] ἄλλοι ἄλλα Bk., ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ L.
[5] ἔτι Rk., ἐπὶ L.

of Syria, he afforded the Parthians time to prepare themselves and to harass the soldiers left behind in their country. B.C. 54

This was the beginning of the war of the Romans against the Parthians. These people dwell beyond the Tigris, for the most part in forts and garrisons, but also in a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which they have a royal residence. Their race was in existence among the ancient barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian kingdom; but at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had acquired no dominion beyond their own borders. But when the Persian rule had been overthrown and that of the Macedonians was at its height, and when the successors of Alexander had quarrelled with one another, cutting off separate portions for themselves and setting up individual monarchies, the Parthians then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces, from whom their succeeding rulers received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighbouring territory, occupied Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to wage war even against the Romans at that time, and ever afterward down to the present day to be considered a match for them. They are really formidable in warfare, but nevertheless they have a reputation greater than their achievements, because, in spite of their not having gained anything from the Romans, and having, besides, given up certain portions of their own domain, they have not yet been enslaved, but even to this day hold their own in the wars they wage

15 *ὁσάκις ἂν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν
τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς τε ἰδιότητος τῶν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ἐγὼ
οὐκ ἐν γνώμῃ ποιοῦμαι συγγράψαι· τῇ δὲ δὴ
ὁπλίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσει (τούτων
γὰρ ὁ ἐξετασμὸς τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐς χρείαν
αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει) τοιᾷδε χρῶνται.
2 ἀσπίδι μὲν οὐδὲν νομίζουσιν, ἱπποτοξόται δὲ
καὶ κοντοφόροι,[1] τὰ πολλὰ κατάφρακτοι, στρα-
τεύονται. πεζοί τε ὀλίγοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενέ-
στεροι, τοξόται δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσίν.
ἔκ τε γὰρ παίδων ἀσκοῦνται, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἥ τε
3 χώρα αὐτοῖς συναίρεται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὕτη τε
γὰρ πεδιὰς ὡς πλήθει οὖσα ἀρίστη[2] τε ἵππους
τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καθιππεύεσθαι·
ἀγέλας γοῦν ὅλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὥστ'
ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἵπποις χρῆσθαι καὶ πόρρωθέν τε
ἐξαπιναίως ἐπελαύνειν καὶ μακράν ποι ἐξ αἰφνι-
4 δίου ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπάγονται· καὶ ὁ[3] οὐρανὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν, ξηρότατός τε ὢν καὶ ἰκμάδα οὐδὲ ἐλαχί-
στην ἔχων, ἐντονωτάτας[4] σφίσι τὰς τοξείας πλὴν
τοῦ πάνυ χειμῶνος παρέχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν
ὥραν ἐκείνην οὐδαμῇ στρατεύονται. τῷ δὲ δὴ
λοιπῷ ἔτει δυσμαχώτατοι ἔν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ
5 ἐν τῇ ὁμοιοτρόπῳ εἰσί· τόν τε γὰρ ἥλιον φλογωδέ-
στατον ὄντα ἀνέχονται τῇ συνηθείᾳ, καὶ τῆς
ὀλιγότητος τῆς τε δυσχερείας τοῦ ποτοῦ πολ-
λὰ ἀλεξιφάρμακα ἀνευρήκασιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τού-
του μὴ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν*

[1] κοντοφόροι Val., ἀκοντοφόροι L.
[2] ἀρίστη Bk., ῥαίστη L. [3] ὁ added by R. Steph.
[4] ἐντονωτάτας Reim. from Xiph., ἐντονώτατα L.

against us, whenever they become involved in them. B.C. 54
Now about their race and their country and their peculiar customs many have written, and I have no intention of describing them. But I will describe their equipment of arms and their method of warfare; for the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it has come to a point where this knowledge is needed. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pikemen, mostly in full armour. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker men; but even these are all archers. They practise from boyhood, and the climate and the land combine to aid both horsemanship and archery. The land, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding about on horse-back; at any rate, even in war they lead about whole droves of horses, so that they can use different ones at different times, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily; and the atmosphere there, which is very dry and does not contain the least moisture, keeps their bowstrings tense, except in the dead of winter. For that reason they make no campaigns anywhere during that season; but the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. For by long experience they can endure the sun's heat, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the dearth of drinking-water and the difficulty of securing it, so that for this reason also they can

ἐσβάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔξω γὰρ ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μάχαις μέν τισι καὶ καταδρομαῖς
6 αἰφνιδίοις ἤδη ποτὲ ἴσχυσάν τι, πολεμῆσαι δέ τισιν ἀπαυστὶ καὶ[1] διαρκῶς οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφίσι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτῶντες,[2] καὶ μήτε σίτου μήτε μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευὴν[3] ποιούμενοι.

16 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἐστίν, ἐσβαλόντος[4] δὲ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τοῦ Κράσσου ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ Ὀρώδης ἔπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρέσβεις, τῆς τε ἐσβολῆς αἰτιώμενος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἔπεμψε δὲ πρός τε τὰ[5] ἑαλωκότα τά τε μεθεστηκότα
2 Σουρήναν σὺν στρατῷ· αὐτὸς γὰρ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένῃ διενοεῖτο ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, ὅπως ὁ Ἀρταβάζης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς ὁ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλεύων μηδεμίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε καὶ περὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δεδιώς, βοήθειαν
3 πέμψῃ. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος ἐκείνῳ τε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ (ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, πλεῖστον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα) τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου ἐρεῖν ἔφη· καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Πάρθων τις ἐς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῖς τῆς ἑτέρας δακτύλοις κρούσας εἶπεν ὅτι "θᾶσσον ἐντεῦθεν τρίχες ἀναφύσονται[6] ἢ σὺ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ γενήσῃ."

17 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμὼν ἐν ᾧ Γναῖός τε Καλουῖνος[7]

[1] ἀπαυστὶ καὶ Rk., ἀπαυτίκα L.
[2] ἀπαρτῶντες Bk., ἀπαρτῶνται L.
[3] μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευὴν Reim., μισθοφόρα σκεύη L.
[4] ἐσβαλόντος R. Steph., ἐσβάλλοντος L.
[5] τὰ added by Leuncl.
[6] ἀναφύσονται Bk., ἀναφύσουσι L.
[7] Καλουῖνος H. Steph., καλουίνιος L.

easily repel the invaders of their land. Outside of this district beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice gained some success in pitched battles and in sudden incursions, but they cannot wage an offensive war with any nation continuously and without pause, both because they encounter an entirely different condition of land and sky and because they do not lay in supplies of food or pay. Such is the Parthian state. B.C. 54

When Crassus had invaded Mesopotamia, as has been stated, Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and to ask the causes of the war; at the same time he sent Surenas with an army to the captured and revolted districts. For he had it in mind to lead an expedition in person against that part of Armenia which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should send no assistance to the Romans through fear for his own land. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war; this is a city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population. And one of the Parthians, striking the palm of his left hand with the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "Sooner will hair grow here than you shall reach Seleucia."

And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus B.C. 53

καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευσαν ἐνέστη,[1] πολ-
λὰ μὲν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο·
καὶ γὰρ βύαι καὶ λύκοι ὤφθησαν, οἵ τε κύνες
περιφοιτῶντες ὠρύοντο,[2] καὶ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν
2 ἵδρωσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τάς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μέν τι
φιλονεικίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρνίθων
καὶ ὑπὸ διοσημιῶν μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ
ἀπέδειξαν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφὲς διεδήλου
ἐς ὅ τι τελευτήσει· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐταράτ-
τετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκινήθησαν αὖθις, πρός τε
τοὺς Πάρθους οὐδ' εἰδότες πω ὅπως[3] συνερρώγε-
3 σαν· τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ
Ζεῦγμα (οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταύτῃ ἐπεραιώθη,
κέκληται) διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῆ καὶ εὐσύμ-
18 βολα συνηνέχθη. ὁ γὰρ ἀετὸς ὠνομασμένος (ἔστι
δὲ νεὼς μικρός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίδρυ-
ται· καθίσταταί τε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου
στρατοπέδοις, καὶ οὐδαμόσε ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων, πλὴν
2 εἴ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἐξίοι, κινεῖται· καὶ αὐτὸν
εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ,[4] ἐς ὀξὺ τὸν στύρακα
ἀπηγμένου ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ δάπεδον καταπήγνυσθαι,
φέρει)—τούτων οὖν τῶν ἀετῶν εἷς οὐκ ἠθέλησε
τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτῷ τότε συνδιαβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ
γῇ ἐνέσχετο ὥσπερ ἐμπεφυκώς, πρὶν δὴ πολλοὶ
3 περιστάντες βίᾳ αὐτὸν ἀνέσπασαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ
ἄκων ἐπηκολούθησε, σημεῖον δέ τι τῶν μεγάλων,
τῶν τοῖς ἱστίοις ἐοικότων καὶ φοινικᾶ γράμματα

[1] ἐνέστη supplied by Rk., space of some eight letters left in L. [2] ἐκνυζῶντο Polak, ᾐκίζοντο L.
[3] εἰδότες πω ὅπως Bs., εἰδότες . . . πῶς L.
[4] μακροῦ Leuncl., from Xiph., μικροῦ L.

BOOK XL

Calvinus and Valerius Messalla became consuls, many B.C. 53
portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, the dogs prowled about and whined, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were struck by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of the omens and portents, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be; for affairs in the city were in a turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew not how as yet, they had become involved in war with the Parthians. But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. One portent had to do with the so-called "eagle" of the army. It is a small shrine and in it perches a golden eagle. It is found in all the enrolled legions, and it is never moved from the winter-quarters unless the whole army takes the field; one man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike so that it can be set firmly in the ground. Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if rooted there, until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied them quite reluctantly. But one of the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς[1] πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων, ἐς
τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας περιτραπὲν ἐνέπεσε.
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὄντος σφοδροῦ ἐγένετο·
4 ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἰσομήκη οἱ συντε-
μών, ὅπως βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ βεβαιό-
τερα φέρειν εἴη, προσεπηύξησε τὰ τέρατα. καὶ
γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει
τοσαύτη τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθη ὥστε περί
τε ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς σφαλῆναι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς
5 πολεμίας, πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς, ἰδεῖν· καὶ τὰ δια-
βατήρια τά τε ἀπόβαθρά σφισι δυσχερέστατα
ἐγένετο. κἀν τούτῳ ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐπέπεσε καὶ
κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηψαν, ἥ τε γέφυρα, πρὶν πάντας
αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τὰ γιγνόμενα
οἷα[2] πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ ἀγνωμόνων τε καὶ
ἀσυνέτων ἐκδιδάξαι ὅτι κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσι καὶ
οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσονται, φόβος καὶ κατήφεια ἐν τῷ
19 στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο δεινή. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος παρα-
μυθούμενος αὐτούς εἶπεν ὅτι "μὴ καταπλήττεσθε,
ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, εἰ ἡ γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ
οἴεσθε ἐκ τούτου χαλεπόν τι ἐπισημαίνεσθαι·
2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπομνὺς λέγω ὅτι δι' Ἀρμε-
νίας τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιήσασθαι ἔγνωκα." ἐκ μὲν
δὴ οὖν τούτου ἐθάρσυνε, νῦν δὲ προσεπειπών τινα
ἔφη, μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "θαρσεῖτε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν
3 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανήξει." ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦθ' οἱ
στρατιῶται οἰωνόν τέ σφισιν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων
ἧττω γεγονέναι ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν πλείω
κατέπεσον, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ
παραινέσεων φροντίσαι, δι' ὧν τόν τε βάρβαρον

[1] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Rk., ἐπ' αὐτῆς L. [2] οἷα Oddey, οἱ L.

distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus had the others of equal length cut down, so they might be shorter and hence steadier to carry; but he only increased the prodigies. For at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. The occurrences were such that any one, even the most indifferent and uninstructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return; hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer; for none of us shall come back this way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it had been an omen for them as great as the others, and they fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled B.C. 53

ἐφαύλιζε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμίαζε, χρή-
4 ματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὣς εἵποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀντεῖπέν οἱ οὐδεὶς οὔτ'
ἀντέπραξε, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἤδη δὲ καὶ
ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τι βουλεῦσαι μήτε πρᾶ-
ξαι σωτήριον δυνάμενοι. πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,
καθάπερ ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ
ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο.

20 Μέγιστον δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄβγαρος[1] ὁ Ὀρ-
ροηνὸς ἐλυμήνατο· ἔνσπονδος γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐπὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενος ἀνθείλετο τὰ τοῦ
βαρβάρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀλχαυδόνιος ὁ
Ἀράβιος ἐποίησε· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀεὶ μεθί-
2 στατο. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη,
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐ δυσφύλακτος ἦν· ὁ δ' Ἄβγαρος
ἐφρόνει μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπλάττετο δὲ τῷ
Κράσσῳ φιλικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ χρήματά τε ἀφειδῶς
αὐτῷ ἀνήλισκε, καὶ τά τε βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ
πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκείνῳ διήγγελλε, καὶ
προσέτι εἰ μέν τι χρηστόν σφων ἦν, ἀπέτρεπεν
3 αὐτόν, εἰ δ' ἀσύμφορον, ἐπέσπερχε. καὶ δὴ καὶ
τοιόνδε τι τελευτῶν ἔπραξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου
πρὸς Σελεύκειαν ὁρμῆσαι διανοουμένου, ὥστε
ἐκεῖσέ τε ἀσφαλῶς παρά τε τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ
δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομι-
σθῆναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν (προσποιήσεσθαι γάρ
σφας ἅτε καὶ Ἕλληνας ῥᾳδίως ἤλπιζεν) ἐπὶ
4 Κτησιφῶντα μὴ χαλεπῶς περαιωθῆναι, τούτου
μὲν ὡς καὶ χρονίου ἐσομένου ἀμελῆσαι αὐτὸν
ἐποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σουρήνᾳ ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ μετ'
21 ὀλίγων ὄντι συμμῖξαι ἔπεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο

[1] Ἄβγαρος Bs., Αὔγαρος L (here and in following chapters).

the barbarian and glorified the Roman state, offered them money and announced prizes for valour. Still, even as it was, they followed and no one said a word or did anything to oppose him, partly, perhaps, out of regard for the law, but also because by this time they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. At any rate, in all else that they did also, as if predestined to ruin by some divinity, they were helpless in both mind and body. B.C. 53

Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osroëne. For he had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompey, but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alchaudonius, the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against; but Abgarus, while favouring the Parthian cause, pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans and reported them to the foe, and further, if any of them was advantageous for the Romans, he tried to divert him from it, but if disadvantageous, urged him forward. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. Crassus was intending to advance to Seleucia so as to reach there safely with his army and provisions by proceeding along the banks of the Euphrates and on its stream; accompanied then by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he would cross without difficulty to Ctesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surenas, because the latter was near by and had only a few men. Then,

παρασκευάσας τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἀπόληται τὸν δ' ὅπως κρατήσῃ[1] (συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει κατασκοπῆς τῷ Σουρήνᾳ συνεγίγνετο), ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφροντιστοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἕτοιμον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ συνεπέθετο.
2 Ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ σφων ἀποκρύψαντες (ἡ γὰρ[2] χώρα ἀνώμαλός τέ πῃ ἦν καὶ δένδρα εἶχεν) ἀπήντησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ' ὁ νεώτερος (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς
3 Γαλατίας παρῆν), καὶ καταφρονήσας σφῶν ὡς καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξήγαγε τῷ ἱππικῷ, καὶ τραπομένους ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιώκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν ἀπήχθη[3] πολὺ ἀπὸ[4] τῆς φάλαγγος, κἀνταῦθα
22 περιστοιχισθεὶς κατεκόπη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀπετράποντο μέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ, συνέμιξαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄξιόν σφων οὐδὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου
2 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἴτε γὰρ συνασπίσαι γνοίησαν[5] ὡς καὶ τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς τάξεώς σφων τὰ τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφευξόμενοι, προσπίπτοντές σφισιν οἱ κοντοφόροι ῥύμῃ τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάννυσαν· εἴτε καὶ διασταῖεν ὅπως τοῦτό γε ἐκκλίνοιεν,[6] ἐτοξεύοντο.
3 κἀν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσελάσεως τῶν κοντοφόρων ἐκπληττόμενοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγκαταλαμβανό-

[1] κρατήσῃ R. Steph., κρατήσει L.
[2] γὰρ Rk., τε L.
[3] ἀπήχθη Turn., ὑπήχθη L.
[4] ἀπὸ Xyl., ὑπὸ L.
[5] γνοίησαν Bk., ἔγνωσαν L.
[6] ἐκκλίνοιεν H. Steph., ἐκκλίνειεν L.

when he had arranged matters so that the invader should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surenas, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans in their heedlessness to what he represented as a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined in the attack against them. B.C. 53

It came about in this way. The Parthians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; for the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Upon seeing them Crassus—not the commander, but the younger Crassus, who had come to his father from Gaul—felt scornful of them, since he supposed them to be alone, and so led out his cavalry against them, and when they turned purposely to flight, pursued them, thinking the victory was his; thus he was drawn far away from the main army, and was then surrounded and cut down. When this had taken place, the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Parthians to avenge his death. Yet they accomplished nothing worthy of themselves because of the enemy's numbers and tactics, and particularly because Abgarus was plotting against them. For if they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the closeness of their array, the pikemen were upon them with a rush, striking down some, and at least scattering the others; and if they extended their ranks to avoid this, they would be struck with the arrows. Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge of the pikemen, and many perished hemmed in by

μενοι ἐφθείροντο· ἄλλοι τοῖς κοντοῖς ἀνετρέποντο[1]
4 ἢ καὶ ἀναπειρόμενοι ἐφέροντο. τά τε βέλη καὶ
πυκνὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐμπίπτοντα
συχνοὺς μὲν καιρίᾳ[2] πληγῇ κατέβαλλε,[3] συχνοὺς
δὲ ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δ' ἀσχολίαν ἐνε-
ποίει· ἔς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σφων ἐσπετό-
μενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας τό τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν
καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων χωροῦντα τήν τε προφυλακὴν
αὐτῶν ἀφῃρεῖτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαί[4] σφας πρὸς τὸ
5 ἀεὶ τιτρῶσκον[5] ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥστε ἐν ᾧ τις τόξευμα
ἐφυλάττετο ἢ καὶ ἐμπαγὲν ἐξῃρεῖτο,[6] πλείω
τραύματα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις[7] ἐλάμβανε. κἀκ τού-
του ἄπορον μέν σφισι κινηθῆναι, ἄπορον δὲ καὶ
ἀτρεμίζειν ἦν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐ-
τοῖς εἶχε, καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀμφότερα ἐπέφερε, τὸ
μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο,[8] τὸ δὲ ὅτι ῥᾷον ἐτιτρώ-
σκοντο.
23 Καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ἕως[9] ἔτι[10] πρὸς μόνους τοὺς
ἐμφανεῖς πολεμίους[11] ἐμάχοντο, ἔπασχον· ὁ γὰρ
Ἄβγαρος οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθετο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὀρροηνοὶ αὐτοί
τε ὄπισθεν ἐς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπεστραμμένους[12] σφᾶς
ἔπαιον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥᾷον φονεύειν παρεῖχον.
τὴν γὰρ τάξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένων-
ται, ἐξελίξαντες ὄπισθέν σφων τοὺς Πάρθους
2 ἐποιήσαντο. αὖθίς τε οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστρά-

1 ἀνετρέποντο H. Steph., ἀνετράποντο L.
2 καιρίᾳ Xyl., κεραίαι L. 3 κατέβαλλε Xyl., ἀπέβαλλε L.
4 γυμνοῦσθαι Leuncl., γυμνούς τε L.
5 τιτρῶσκον Toup, τιτρωσκόμενον L.
6 ἐξῃρεῖτο Rk., ᾑρεῖτο L. 7 ἐπ' ἄλλοις Oddey, ἐν πολλοῖς L.
8 ἐδύναντο R. Steph., ἐδύνοντο L. 9 ἕως St., ὡς L.
10 ἔτι Xyl., ἐπὶ L. 11 πολεμίους Leuncl., πολέμους L.
12 ἀπεστραμμένους Rk., ἐπεστραμμένους L.

the horsemen. Others were knocked over by the pikes or were carried off transfixed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by a mortal blow, rendered many useless for battle, and caused distress to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of their body and, penetrating their armour, deprived them of their protection and compelled them to expose themselves to each new missile. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one after another. Consequently it was impracticable for them to move, and impracticable to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety but each was fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were then more easily wounded. B.C. 53

This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against the enemies in sight; for Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. But when he, too, attacked, thereupon the Osroëni themselves assailed the Romans on their exposed rear, since they were facing the other way, and also rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, in altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. Again they wheeled round to face the Parthians,

φησαν, καὶ πάλιν αὖθις πρὸς ἐκείνους, εἶτα πρὸς
τούτους. κἀκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες,
ἅτε καὶ συνεχῶς δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε μεθιστάμενοι καὶ
πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ τιτρῶσκον ἀποβλέπειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι,
τοῖς τε ξίφεσι τοῖς σφετέροις περιέπιπτον καὶ
3 πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἐς
στενὸν οὕτω κατεκλείσθησαν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τῶν
πολεμίων ἀεί σφισι πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπιπτόν-
των, ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπίσι τὰς γυμνώσεις
σφῶν προστέλλειν, ὥστε μηδὲ κινηθῆναι ἔτι δυνη-
θῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στάσιν βεβαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις
4 ἀνετρέποντο. τό τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ δίψος (μεσοῦν-
τός τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ταῦτ'
ἐγίγνετο) καὶ ὁ κονιορτός (ὅπως γὰρ ὅτι πλεῖστος
αἴροιτο, πάντες σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι περιίππευον)
δεινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήρει, καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ
24 τούτων ἄτρωτοι ἔπεσον. κἂν πασσυδὶ ἀπώλοντο,
εἰ μὴ οἵ τε κοντοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ἀπεστρά-
φησαν οἱ δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αἱ νευραὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ
τῆς βολῆς ἐρράγησαν, τά τε βέλη ἐξετοξεύθη, καὶ
τὰ ξίφη πάντα ἀπημβλύνθη, τό τε μέγιστον οἱ
2 ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ φονεύοντες ἐξέκαμον. οὕτω γὰρ δή
(καὶ γὰρ[1] νὺξ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεῦσαι
αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν) ἀπεχώρησαν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ πλη-
σίοι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύονται
διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾷ ταφρείᾳ χρῆσθαι καὶ διὰ τό, ἄν
τις ἐπέλθῃ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ,[2] ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῇ
ἵππῳ ἀδύνατοι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ ἰσχυρίσασθαι
3 εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ζῶντά τινα τῶν Ῥωμαίων
τόθ' εἷλον· ἑστῶτάς τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

[1] γὰρ added by Reim. [2] σκότῳ Xyl., σκόπωι L.

then back again to face the Osroëni, then to face the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this course, because they were continually turning this way and that and were forced to face the enemy that was wounding them at the time, they fell upon their own swords and many were even killed by their comrades. Finally, as the enemy continually assaulted them from all sides at once, and they were compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, they were shut up in so narrow a place that they could no longer move. Indeed, they could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst (it was midsummer and this action took place at noon) and the dust, of which the barbarians raised as much as possible by all riding around them, told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed from these causes, even though unwounded. And the Romans would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped under the constant shooting, the missiles were exhausted, the swords all blunted, and, most of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, the assailants retired, for night was coming on and they were obliged to ride off to a distance. For they never encamp near even the weakest forces, because they use no intrenchments, and because, if any one attacks them in the darkness, they are unable to employ their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time; for seeing them standing B.C. 53

ὁρῶντες, καὶ μήτε τινὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μήτ' αὐτὸν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἰσχύειν τε ἔτι σφᾶς ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

25 Οὕτως ὅ τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι γε ἠδυνήθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας[1] ὥρμησαν, βεβαίους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἔνδον Ῥωμαίων τηρηθείσας· πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τετρωμένων μήτε βαδίσαι οἷοί τε ὄντες μήτ' ὀχημάτων εὐποροῦντες ἢ καὶ ποδηγέτας ἔχοντες (ἀγαπητῶς γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ ἑαυ-
2 τοὺς ἀνέφερον) κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν. καὶ ἐκείνων τε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἑάλωσαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ·[2] καὶ τῶν διαδεδρακότων[3] συχνοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προλιπόντων[4] σφᾶς τῶν σωμάτων, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐφθάρησαν, θεραπείας παραχρῆμα
3 ἀκριβοῦς μὴ δυνηθέντες τυχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Κράσσος ἀθυμήσας οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσφαλῶς ἔθ' ὑπομεῖναι δυνήσεσθαι ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλὰ δρασμὸν εὐθὺς ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξιόντι μὴ οὐ καταφώρῳ[5] γενέσθαι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι, προδοθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης, πανσελήνου οὔσης, οὐκ ἔλαθεν.
4 προσέμεινάν τε οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἄραντες δή,[6] οἷα ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ πολεμίᾳ γῇ φόβῳ τε ἰσχυρῷ,[7] ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἁλόντες ἡμέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν

[1] Κάρρας Xyl., ἄκρας L.
[2] ἑάλωσαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Turn., ἑάλων τῆι ἑτέραι L.
[3] διαδεδρακότων Polak, ἑαλωκότων L.
[4] προλιπόντων Turn., προέλιπον L.
[5] καταφώρῳ H. Steph., καταφόροι L.
[6] δὴ Reim., δὲ L.
[7] ἰσχυρῷ R. Steph., ἰσχυρῶς L.

upright in their armour and perceiving that no one B.C. 53
either threw away his weapons or fled, they supposed they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

So Crassus and all the rest who could set out for Carrhae, which had been kept loyal to them by the Romans who remained behind within the walls. But many of the wounded remained on the field, being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even guides, since the others had been glad enough merely to drag themselves away. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. And of those who had escaped many perished on the road, as their strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. For Crassus, in his discouragement, believed he could not hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. And since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and setting out thus, in darkness and in a land at once strange and hostile, and in overpowering fear, they became scattered. And some were caught when it became day and lost their lives, others got

μετὰ Κασσίου Λογγίνου τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν·
5 ἄλλοι τῶν ὀρῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν φευξόμενοι.

26 Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ μεταστάντες ποι αὖθίς σφισι προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλεῖν μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἄφιππα ὄντα οὐκ ἠθέλησεν (ὁπλῖταί τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι, καί τι καὶ[1] ἀπονοίας ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως ἔχοντες, οὐ ῥᾴδιοι προσμῖξαί οἱ ἐγένοντο), πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς σπονδὰς δῆθέν σφας προκαλούμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου
2 πᾶσαν ἐκλίπωσι.[2] καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας ἐπίστευσεν· ἔν τε γὰρ ἀκμῇ τοῦ δέους ὢν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῆς τε ἰδίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τεθολωμένος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τήν τε ὁδὸν ὡς πολλὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν ὀκνοῦντας καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην φοβουμένους ὁρῶν,
3 οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων προϊδέσθαι ἠδυνήθη. ἑτοίμου[3] οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας οὐκ ἠθέλησε δι' ἑτέρων σπείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπολαβὼν συλλάβῃ, αὐτῷ
4 ἐκείνῳ ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. κἀκ τούτου δόξαν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ[4] μετ' ἴσων ἀνδρῶν ἑκατέρωθεν συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὅ τε Κράσσος ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας ἵππον αὐτῷ δῶρον, ἵνα δὴ θᾶσσον πρὸς αὐτὸν
27 ἀφίκηται, ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὕτω διαμέλλοντα τὸν Κράσσον, καὶ βουλευόμενον ὅ τι ποιήσῃ, συναρ-

[1] καὶ Reim., καὶ δι' L. [2] ἐκλίπωσι Bk., ἐκλείπωσι L.
[3] ἑτοίμου R. Steph., ἑτοίμους L.
[4] μεταιχμίῳ Turn., μεταίχμωι L.

safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius Longinus, the quaestor, and still others, with Crassus himself, gained the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia. B.C. 53

Surenas, learning this, was afraid that if they should escape anywhere they might make war on them again, but still he was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses; for as they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and felt also a touch of frenzy because of despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to agree to a truce on condition of their abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates; and Crassus, without hesitation, trusted him. For he was in the very extremity of fear, and was distraught by the terror of the calamity that had befallen both himself and the state; and seeing, moreover, that the soldiers shrank from the journey, which they thought long and arduous, and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. Now when he declared himself ready for the truce, Surenas refused to negotiate it through others, but in order to get him off with only a few followers and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from each side. So Crassus descended to the level ground and Surenas sent him a present of a horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly; and while Crassus even then delayed and considered what he should

πάσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι βίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέ-
βαλον.[1] κἀν τούτῳ ἀντιλαμβανομένων αὐτοῦ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἔς τε χεῖράς σφισιν ἦλθον, καὶ τέως μὲν
ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ προσβοηθησάντων
2 τινῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκράτησαν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἔν τε
τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντες καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένοι ἔφθησαν
τοὺς ἄνω Ῥωμαίους ἀμύναντες σφίσι. καὶ οἵ τε
ἄλλοι ἔπεσον καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἴτ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
σφετέρων τινὸς ὅπως μὴ ζωγρηθῇ, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἐτέτρωτο, ἐσφάγη.
3 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ
χρυσὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὥς γέ τινες λέγου-
σιν, ἐνέτηξαν ἐπισκώπτοντες· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ περὶ
τὰ χρήματα, καίτοι πολυχρήματος ὤν, ἐσπουδάκει
ὥστε καὶ[2] ὡς πένητας οἰκτείρειν τοὺς μὴ δυναμέ-
νους στρατόπεδον ἐκ καταλόγου οἴκοθεν θρέψαι·[3]
4 τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον διὰ τῶν
ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἑάλω.

28 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν οὐ περαιτέρω τοῦ
Εὐφράτου προεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαν ἀνεκτήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν
Συρίαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλήθει τινί, ὡς μήτε
στρατηγὸν μήτε στρατιώτας ἔχουσαν, ἐνέβαλον·
ἀφ' οὗπερ Κάσσιος[4] ῥᾳδίως αὐτούς, ἅτε μὴ πολ-
2 λοὺς ὄντας, ἀπεώσατο. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς
Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα
αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίαν μίσει τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ

[1] ἀνέβαλον Xyl., ἀνέλαβον L.
[2] ὥστε καὶ supplied by Leuncl. (ὥστε) and Xyl. (ὡς καὶ).
[3] θρέψαι v. Herw., θρέψειν L.
[4] Κάσσιος R. Steph., from Xiph., κράσσος L., and so just below.

do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him on the horse. Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold of him, came to blows with the others, and for a time held their own; then aid came to the barbarians, and they prevailed; for their forces, which were in the plain and had been made ready beforehand brought help to their men before the Romans on the high ground could to theirs. And not only the others fell, but Crassus also was slain, either by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or by the enemy because he was badly wounded. This was his end. And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a part fell into the hands of the enemy. B.C. 53

The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also invaded Syria, though not in great numbers, because the province had neither general nor soldiers; and for this reason Cassius easily thrust them out, since they were not many in number. For when at Carrhae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus had offered him the supreme command over themselves, and Crassus himself on B.C. 52

προσέτι καὶ αὐτοῦ[1] ἐκείνου ἐθελοντὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς
συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐπιτρέποντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τότε
δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τῆς Συρίας ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ
3 μετὰ ταῦτα προέστη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέ-
σχοντο αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὖθις μείζονι, Πακόρου
μὲν ὀνόματι, τοῦ υἱέος τοῦ Ὀρώδου, ἔργῳ δέ (παῖς
γὰρ ἔτι ἐκεῖνος ἦν) Ὠσάκου ἡγουμένου σφίσιν,
ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦλθον,
4 πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι. καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶχον
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καταστρέψεσθαι,[2] μήτε τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἀξιομάχῳ τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν
δήμων τῇ τε ἐκείνων δεσποτείᾳ ἀχθομένων καὶ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἅτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίσιν ὄντας
29 ἀποκλινόντων. ἁμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας (ὅ
τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ
ἐκεῖνοι ἀδύνατοι πολιορκῆσαί τι ἦσαν) ἐπ' Ἀντι-
γόνιαν ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τό τε προάστειον
αὐτῆς σύμφυτον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθάρσησαν, ἀλλ'
2 οὐδὲ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι, ἐνενόησαν μὲν
τά τε δένδρα κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον πᾶν ψιλῶσαι,
ὅπως καὶ θαρσούντως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῇ πόλει
προσμίξωσι, μὴ δυνηθέντες δέ (ὅ τε γὰρ πόνος
πολὺς ἐγίγνετο καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὅ
τε Κάσσιος τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους σφῶν ἐλύπει)
ἀπανέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιστρατεύ-
3 σοντες.[3] κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Κάσσιος ἔς τε τὴν ὁδὸν δι'
ἧς ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐλόχισε, κἀνταῦθα
ἐπιφανείς σφισι μετ' ὀλίγων ἔς τε δίωξιν αὐτοὺς
ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ

[1] αὐτοῦ St., παρ' αὐτοῦ L.
[2] καταστρέψεσθαι Turn., καταστρέψασθαι L.
[3] ἐπιστρατεύσοντες R. Steph., ἐπιστρατεύοντες L.

account of the greatness of the disaster had voluntarily allowed it, he had not accepted the command; now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, both for the time being and subsequently. For the barbarians would not keep away from it, but made another campaign with a larger band, nominally under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, though actually under that of Osaces, since the other was still a child. They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. And they had hopes also of subjugating what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the districts were fretting under Roman rule and were ready to turn to the invaders, as to neighbours and people of kindred ways. But when they failed to take Antioch, since Cassius effectively repulsed them and they were unable to carry on a siege, they turned to Antigonea. And since the neighbourhood of this city was overgrown with timber, and they did not dare, nay were not even able to penetrate this with cavalry, they formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place, so that they might approach the town with confidence and safety. But finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those of them who scattered abroad, they retired with the intention of proceeding against some other place. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men, he induced them to pursue, and then surrounding them, killed a number, including

B.C. 52

B.C. 51

τὸν Ὠσάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου
πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξέλιπε, καὶ οὐδ'
αὖθίς ποτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσέβαλεν.
30 Ἅμα δὲ οὗτος ἀνεκεχωρήκει καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος
ἄρξων τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐψηφισμένου
μηδένα μήτε στρατηγὸν μήθ' ὕπατον μήτε εὐθὺς
μήτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἔτους ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας
ἐξιέναι, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδαρχοῦντες στα-
2 σιάζωσι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ὑπήκοον
διήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Πάρθους ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψε·
Ὀρνοδαπάτην[1] γάρ τινα σατράπην ἀχθόμενον τῷ
Ὀρώδῃ προσποιησάμενος, ἀνέπεισε δι' ἀγγέλων
τόν τε Πάκορον βασιλέα στήσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖ-
νον μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεῦσαι.
3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὗτος, ὅ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων
καὶ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων,[2] τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο,[3]
ἐπί τε Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου[4] καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπικίου
31 Ῥούφου ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο· ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ
χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ταρα-
χθέντα αὖθις μάχαις κατέλαβε, πολλὰ πάνυ τὰ μὲν
αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων πράξας,
2 ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα διηγήσομαι μόνα. ὁ γὰρ
Ἀμβιόριξ τοὺς Τρηουήρους χαλεπῶς ἔτι[5] καὶ
τότε τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδουτιομάρου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας παρα-
λαβὼν τά τε αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον συνέστησε, καὶ
παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν μισθοφορικὸν μετεπέμψατο.
3 βουληθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος, πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν,
συμμῖξαί σφισι, προενέβαλεν ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρη-
ουήρων χώραν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠμύνοντο τὴν

[1] Ὀρνοδαπάτην Bs., ὀρνοδαπάντη L.
[2] ὅ τε . . . Πάρθων regarded by v. Herw. as a gloss.
[3] ἤρξατο Reim., ἤρξαντο L.
[4] Μαρκέλλου Xyl., μαρκελλίνου L. [5] ἔτι R. Steph., ἐπεὶ L.

Osaces. Upon the latter's death Pacorus abandoned all Syria and never invaded it again. B.C. 51

He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in violation of a decree, intended to prevent rivalry for office with its consequent strife, that no praetor or consul should either immediately or at any time within five years go abroad to govern a province. He administered the subject territory in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. For after winning the friendship of Ornodapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

So this war between the Romans and Parthians came to an end in the fourth year after it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which had become disturbed. Of the numerous exploits performed either by himself alone or through his lieutenants I will relate only the most important. Ambiorix, after joining to B.C. 53
himself the Treveri, who at this time were still angry over Indutiomarus' death, had formed a greater conspiracy in that quarter and sent for a mercenary force from the Germans. Now Labienus, wishing to join battle with them before these recruits should arrive, promptly invaded the country of the Treveri. And when the latter did not defend themselves, as they

ἐπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλὰ ποταμόν τινα διὰ
μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς
στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε ἀφ' ὧν τούς
τε σφετέρους καταπλήξειν καὶ ἐκείνους . . .[1] ἔμελλε,
4 χρῆναί τέ σφας ἔλεγε, πρὶν τοὺς Κελτοὺς αὐτοῖς
ἐπαμῦναι, πρός τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς
ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐσήμηνέ[2] τε εὐθὺς συσκευάσασθαι.
καὶ ἐξανέστη οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσδοκήσας
5 ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι
ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελές, καὶ
δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο καὶ φανερῶς ἐλέχθη) δεδιέναι[3]
τε αὐτὸν ὄντως καὶ φυγὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι
ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν σπουδῇ διαβάντες
θυμῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχώρουν, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχε.
6 καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λαβιῆνος ὑπέστη τέ σφας ἐσκε-
δασμένους, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας ῥᾳδίως
καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο.
κἀκ τούτου φευγόντων τέ σφων τεταραγμένως καὶ
ἀλλήλοις ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν
ὠθουμένων πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε.

32 Διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὣς συχνῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ τῶν
μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀμ-
βιόριγα διαδιδράσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ καὶ πολλὰ
κακουργοῦντα καὶ ζητῶν καὶ διώκων πράγματα
ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδένα τρόπον λαβεῖν
ἠδυνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ τοῖς
Τρηουήροις βοηθῆσαι ἐθελήσαντας ἐστράτευσε.
2 καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
ταχέων φόβῳ τῶν Σουήβων ἐπανεχώρησεν, ἔδοξε
δ'[4] οὖν αὖθις τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβεβηκέναι, καὶ τῆς τε

[1] Lacuna recognized by Leuncl.
[2] ἐσήμηνέ Bk., σημῆναι L.
[3] δεδιέναι Rk., διιέναι L.
[4] ἔδοξε δ' Rk., ἔδοξεν L.

were awaiting the reinforcements, but put a river between the two armies and remained quiet, Labienus assembled his soldiers and addressed them in such words as were likely to alarm his own men and [encourage] the foe, declaring that they must withdraw to Caesar and safety before the Germans should come to the aid of the enemy; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he actually set out on the march, expecting the very result that occurred. For the barbarians heard of his speech, for they were very diligent in such matters and it was for just that reason, indeed, that it had been delivered publicly, and they thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they hastily crossed the river and eagerly advanced against the Romans, as fast as each one could. Thus Labienus met their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest by means of these first fugitives. Then, as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them. B.C. 53

Many escaped even as it was, but Caesar took no account of these, except in the case of Ambiorix. This man, by escaping now to one place and now to another and doing much injury, caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. When he was unable to catch him in any way, he made an expedition against the Germans, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi; yet he gained the reputation of having crossed the Rhine

γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσεχῆ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔλυσε, καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ διαβησείων[1]
3 *ᾠκοδόμησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀργῇ τὴν τοῦ 'Αμβιόριγος διάφευξιν φέρων, τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτοι μηδὲν νεωτερίσασαν διαρπάσαι*[2] *τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψε, προεπαγγείλας σφίσιν αὐτὸ τοῦθ', ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι συνέλθωσιν· ὅθενπερ πολλοὶ μὲν* Γαλάται *πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ* Σύγαμβροι
4 *πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἦλθον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέχρησε*[3] *τοῖς* Συγάμβροις *τὰ ἐκείνων λήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς* 'Ρωμαίοις *ἐπέθεντο· τηρήσαντες γάρ σφας πρὸς σίτου κομιδὴν ἀπιόντας ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῶν, κἂν τούτῳ προσβοηθησάντων σφῶν, ἐπείπερ ᾔσθοντο, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν.*
5 *καὶ οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες διὰ τοῦτο τὸν* Καίσαρα *οἴκαδε σπουδῇ ἀνεχώρησαν· ἐκεῖνος*[4] *δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδενός,*[5] *διά τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ* 'Ρώμῃ *στασιάζεσθαι, οὐδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτός τε ἐς τὴν* 'Ιταλίαν, *πρόφασιν μὲν τῆς ἐκεῖ* Γαλατίας *ἕνεκα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἐγγύθεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δρωμένοις ἐφεδρεύῃ, ἀπῆλθεν.*

33 Κἀν *τούτῳ οἱ* Γαλάται *αὖθις ἐνεόχμωσαν.* 'Αρουερνοὶ *γὰρ ἡγουμένου σφῶν* Οὐερκιγγετόριγος *ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τούς τε*[6] 'Ρωμαίους, *ὅσους ἔν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν εὗρον, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν χωρή-*

[1] *διαβησείων* Dind., *διαβασείων* L.
[2] *διαρπάσαι* Bs., *διαρπάσειν* L.
[3] *ἀπέχρησε* R. Steph., *ἀπεχώρησε* L.
[4] *ἐκεῖνος* Reim., *ἐκείνοις* L.
[5] *οὐδενός* Reim., *οὐδὲν* L. [6] *τε* Rk., *γε* L.

again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he permitted that chieftain's country, although it had been guilty of no rebellion, to be plundered by any who wished. He gave public notice of this in advance, so that as many as possible might assemble; hence many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. Now it did not suffice the Sugambri to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they even attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent securing provisions and then made an attempt upon their camp; and when the soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue, they killed a good many of these. Then, becoming afraid of Caesar as a result of this affair, they hurriedly withdrew homeward; but he inflicted no punishment upon any of them because of the winter and the turmoil in Rome, but after dismissing the soldiers to their winter-quarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of looking after Cisalpine Gaul, but really in order that he might watch from close at hand the events that were taking place in the city. B.C. 53

Meantime the Gauls rebelled again. The Arverni under the leadership of Vercingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their cities and their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner, bestowed favours upon such as B.C. 52

σαντες τοὺς μὲν συναποστῆναί σφισιν ἐθελή-
σαντας περιεῖπον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκακούργουν.
2 μαθὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεκομίσθη,[1] καὶ
καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς Βιτούριγας[2] ἐσβεβληκότας
ἐκείνοις μέν (οὐ γάρ πω πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ
παρῆσαν) οὐκ ἐπήμυνεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀρουερνίδα
ἀντεμβαλὼν ἐπανήγαγεν οἴκαδε τοὺς πολεμίους
καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει πω ἀξιόμαχος αὐτοῖς εἶναι)
34 προαπεχώρησεν. αὖθις οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρός τε τοὺς
Βιτούριγας[2] ἐπανῆλθον,[3] καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν Ἀουα-
ρικὸν[4] ἑλόντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν αὐτῇ ἀντέσχον.
ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενοι—
τό τε γὰρ τεῖχος δυσπρόσιτον ἦν, τῇ μὲν ἑλῶν
δυσδιαβάτων τῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ ῥοώδους αὐτὸ περι-
έχοντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ παμπληθεῖς ὄντες τάς τε
προσβολάς σφων ῥᾳδίως ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπεξ-
2 ιόντες πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν. καὶ τέλος τά τε
πέριξ πάντα, οὐχ ὅπως ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πόλεις ἀφ' ὧν ὠφελίαν τινὰ ἔσεσθαί σφισι
προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εἴ τέ τι παρὰ τῶν πόρ-
ρωθεν συμμάχων ἐκομίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἥρπαζον, ὥστε
πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δοκοῦντας
3 τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν, πρὶν δὴ ὑετός
τε λάβρος καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα προσβάλλουσί πῃ
αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενόμενον (ὁ[5] γὰρ χειμὼν ἐνειστήκει)
πρώτους μὲν ἐκείνους ἀπήλασε καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς
ἐπανήγαγεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὰς
οἰκίας κατέκλεισεν. ἀπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
τῶν ἐπάλξεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέβαλον ἐξαίφνης

[1] ἀνεκομίσθη Reim., ἐκομίσθη L.
[2] Βιτούριγας Bk., ἰουρτούριγας L.
[3] ἐπανῆλθον R. Steph., ἐπανῆλθεν L.
[4] Ἀουαρικὸν Leuncl., εὐάκον L. [5] ὁ Bk., ὅ τε L.

had been willing to join their revolt, and injured the rest. Caesar on learning this returned and found that they had invaded the territory of the Bituriges. He made no attempt to help the latter, since not all his soldiers were at hand as yet, but by invading the Arvernian country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon he retired in good season, not deeming himself yet a match for them. They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and held out in it for a long time; for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, they were later besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel the assaults, and they also made sallies, inflicting many injuries. Finally they burned up everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages, but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to their enemies, and if anything was being brought to these from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, were really suffering the fate of the besieged; this continued until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having now set in) during their attack on a point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then shut up the barbarians also in their houses. When they had retired from the battlements, the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were B.C. 52

4 αὖθις αὐταῖς ἐρήμοις ἀνδρῶν οὔσαις· καὶ πύργον
τινὰ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολε-
μίους τῆς παρουσίας σφῶν, ἑλόντες ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τήν τε πόλιν
πᾶσαν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας
ὀργῇ τῆς τε προσεδρείας καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας
ἔσφαξαν.
35 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
αὐτῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολεμούμενοι
τὰς γεφύρας οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀρουερνοὶ προεκεκρατήκε-
σαν δι' ὧν διαβῆναι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἀπορήσας ὅπως
περαιωθῇ, ἐπιπαρῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην,[1]
εἴ πως ἐπιτηδείου τινὸς χωρίου ὥστε πεζῇ δι'
2 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος διελθεῖν λάβοιτο. κἀκ τούτου
ἔν τε ὑλώδει τινὶ καὶ ἐν συσκίῳ τόπῳ γενόμενος
τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖον
προέπεμψε, μακρὰν[2] ἐκτεταμένῃ τάξει κελεύσας
αὐτοὺς προϊέναι, ὥστε καὶ πάντας σφᾶς ἐνταῦθα
3 εἶναι δοκεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων
ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ξύλα τε ἔτεμε καὶ σχεδίας ἐποίησε
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν διέβη τὸ ῥεῦμα, τῶν βαρβάρων
πρός τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν πορευομένους τὸν
νοῦν ἐχόντων καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μετ' αὐτῶν εἶναι
4 λογιζομένων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τούς τε προεληλυθό-
τας νυκτὸς ἀνεκαλέσατο, καὶ διαβιβάσας αὐτοὺς
ὁμοίως τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτησε, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐς Γεργοουίαν[3] συγκαταφυγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖσε
πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατά σφισι συγκομισάντων πλεῖ-
36 στον πόνον μάτην αὐτοῖς προσεδρεύων ἔσχε. τό
τε γὰρ φρούριον ἐπί τε λόφου καρτεροῦ ἦν καὶ

[1] ὄχθην R. Steph., ὄχθαν L. [2] μακρὰν Reim., μακρᾶι L.
[3] Γεργοουίαν (Γεργουίαν) Leuncl., γοργοθυῖαν L.

no men there; and capturing a tower forthwith, before ever the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardships slew all the people. B.C. 52

After accomplishing this Caesar made an expedition into their territory. Now the rest of the Arverni, in view of the war being made upon them, had already secured possession of the bridges which he must cross; and he, being in doubt how he should get across, proceeded a considerable distance along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for crossing on foot through the stream itself. At length he reached a wooded and shady place, from which he sent ahead the baggage and most of his army, bidding them go forward with their line extended over a great distance, so that all his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the best troops remained behind, and cutting down timber and constructing rafts, he crossed the stream by means of these while the barbarians still had their attention fixed on those marching on ahead, supposing that Caesar was among them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying thither all their most valued possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. For their fort was on a strong hill and was protected by mighty walls;

τείχεσιν ἰσχυρῶς ἐκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι
πέριξ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες περι-
εφρούρουν, ὥστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ χώραν
ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν
2 τὰ πλείω. ἔν τε γὰρ πεδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ηὐλίζετο (οὐ
γὰρ εὐπόρησεν ἐχυροῦ χωρίου), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε
προεγίγνωσκεν[1] . . ., οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ
ὑπερδεξίων κρατοῦντες,[2] τό τε στρατόπεδον αὐ-
τοῦ κατεθεῶντο καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαίροις
3 ἐχρῶντο. εἴ τέ πῃ περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προ-
χωρήσαντες ἀνεκόπτοντο,[3] δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις ἐντὸς
τῆς ἐπικρατείας σφῶν ἐγίγνοντο· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι
οὐδένα τρόπον, ἐφ' ὅσον οἵ τε λίθοι καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια
4 ἐξικνεῖτο, πελάσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐδύναντο. ὁ οὖν
Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, καὶ
πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ
πόλισμα ἦν, προσβαλὼν μέρους μέν τινος ἐκρά-
τησεν αὐτοῦ ὥστε καὶ ἐντειχίσασθαί τι ῥᾴω τε[4]
ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τἆλλα ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δ'
5 ὅλον ἀπεκρούετο, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν συχνοὺς
ἀπέβαλε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλήπτους ἑώρα ὄντας, τά τε
τῶν Αἰδούων ἐν τούτῳ ἐκινήθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
πρὸς τούτους ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ κατα-
λειφθέντες ἀπήλλαξαν, ἀνέστη.
37 Οἱ γὰρ Αἴδουοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ταῖς τε ὁμο-
λογίαις ἐνέμειναν καὶ ἐπικουρίας αὐτῷ ἔπεμπον,
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων
σφᾶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Λιταουίκου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ
ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, διεπράξατο

[1] προεγίγνωσκεν Leuncl., προσεγίγνωσκεν L.
[2] κρατοῦντες Bs., ὄντες L.
[3] ἀνεκόπτοντο Rk., ἀνέκοπτον L. [4] τε Bk., γε L.

and the barbarians were keeping guard over it, after seizing all the high ground around, so that they could both safely remain in position, and, if they charged down, would usually have the advantage. For Caesar, in default of a strong position, was encamped in the plain, and never knew beforehand . . .; but the barbarians, in possession of the heights, could look down upon his camp and kept making opportune charges. And if they ever advanced farther than was fitting and were beaten back, they quickly got within their own lines again; for the Romans could not in any way come near enough to the places for their stones and javelins to reach their mark. So Caesar's time was being spent to no purpose; to be sure, after frequent assaults against the very height upon which the fortress was located, he did capture a certain portion of it, so that he could wall it in and advance more easily from there against the rest of it, yet on the whole he was being repulsed. He lost a number of his soldiers and saw that the enemy could not be captured; moreover, there was at this time an uprising among the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to them, the men left behind fared badly. All these considerations led Caesar to raise the siege. B.C. 52

The Aedui at first lived up to their agreement and sent him assistance, but later they went to war, although reluctantly, being deceived by Litaviccus and others. This man, being unable in any other way to persuade them to adopt this course,

προσταχθῆναί οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν
2 τινας ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ δῆθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὥρμησε μὲν
ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσων, προπέμψας δὲ ἱππέας, καὶ
κελεύσας τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἵ
τε[1] συμπεμφθέντες σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρὰ
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σφῶν ὄντες συνειλημμένοι τε ὑπ᾽
αὐτῶν εἰσι καὶ ἀπολώλασι, προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς
στρατιώτας δημηγορήσας ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις.
3 καὶ οὕτως αὐτοί τε ἐπανέστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
συμμετέστησαν.[2] καὶ τότε μέν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὡς
τάχιστα τοῦτ᾽ ᾔσθετο, τούς τε Αἰδούους οὓς εἶχε
καὶ ἐδόκει πεφονευκέναι ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε
φανεροὺς πᾶσι ζῶντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἱππικῷ
38 ἐφέσπετο) μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλλάγησαν· αὖθις
δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρός τε τῇ Γεργοουίᾳ τῇ[3] τοῦ
Καίσαρος ἀπουσίᾳ πταισάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
παντάπασιν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀποχωρησάντων, ἐφοβή-
θησαν οἱ τήν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ
νεωτέρων ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ[4] σχολά-
2 ζοντες . . . ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἐνεόχμωσαν. μαθόντες
δὲ τοῦθ᾽ οἱ συστρατεύοντες[5] αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι
ᾐτήσαντο ἐπιτραπῆναί σφισιν οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν,
ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα καταστήσειν. καὶ οὕτως ἀφε-
θέντες πρός τε Νοουιοδουνόν,[6] ἔνθα τά τε χρήματα
καὶ τὸν σῖτον ὁμήρους[7] τε πολλοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

[1] οἵ τε added by Rk., following Leuncl. (οἱ).
[2] συμμετέστησαν R. Steph., συμμέτεσαν L.
[3] Γεργοουίᾳ τῇ supplied by Leuncl. and Rk.
[4] μὴ added here by Rk., after σχολάζοντες by Leuncl.
[5] συστρατεύοντες Melber, στρατεύοντες L.
[6] Νοουιοδουνὸν Leuncl., νοουιοδοουνον L.
[7] ὁμήρους R. Steph., ὁμόρους L.

managed to get himself appointed to convey some men to Caesar ostensibly to serve as the latter's allies. He did, indeed, set out as if to fulfil this mission, but sent ahead some horsemen bidding some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. He then further excited the wrath of the soldiers by delivering a speech in keeping with the messengers' report. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and induced the others to revolt with them. As soon as Caesar became aware of this, he sent to them the Aedui whom he had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and became reconciled; but when later the Romans, by reason of Caesar's absence, were defeated at Gergovia and entirely withdrew from that place, those who had caused the uprising and were ever eager for revolution feared that [the Romans might take vengeance upon them], now that they were free to do so, and consequently they rebelled. And members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would put everything in order. Released on these conditions, they came to Noviodunum, where the Romans had deposited their money and grain and many hostages, and with the B.C. 52

κατετέθειντο,[1] ἦλθον, καὶ τούς τε φρουροὺς αὐτῶν, συναιρομένων[2] σφίσι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, μὴ προσδεχομένους ἔφθειραν, καὶ ἐν κράτει πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν ἐπίκαιρον οὖσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὁρμητήριον αὐτὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωνται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Αἰδούων προσαπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λίγρον[3] ἐπὶ
4 Λίγγονας ἐτράπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκεῖ κατώρθωσεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Σηκουανῷ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, τούς τε προκινδυνεύσαντας ἐν[4] τῇ ἠπείρῳ κρατήσας καὶ τὴν διάβασιν πολλαχῇ ἅμα κατά τε τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν περαιούμενος κωλυθῇ, ποιησάμενος, κατέσχε.

39 Πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξ ὧν ἐπταίκει ἐπ' Ἀλλόβριγας ἐστράτευσε. κἀν τούτῳ ὁρμήσαντα αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντά σφισιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκουα-
2 νοῖς γενόμενον καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μέντοι κακόν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον τούς τε Ῥωμαίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θράσους ἔπταισε, καί τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν
3 τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμαχούντων ἐσφάλη· ταῖς τε γὰρ ὁρμαῖς ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς[5] σώμασι τὴν τόλμαν προσεπισχυρίσαντες διέρρηξαν τὴν περίσχεσιν. εὑρὼν δὲ δὴ τὸ εὕρημα τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ

[1] κατετέθειντο Bk., κατέθειντο L.
[2] συναιρομένων R. Steph., συναιραμένων L.
[3] Λίγρον Leuncl., αἴγρον L. [4] ἐν added by Bk.
[5] ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς Rk., ἀπλήστοις L.

aid of the natives destroyed the garrisons, which B.C. 52 were looking for no hostile act, and gained possession of everything there. And they burned down the city, because of its advantageous situation, to prevent the Romans from making it a base for the war, and next they caused the remainder of the Aedui to revolt. Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but being unable to do so, on account of the river Liger, he turned his attention to the Lingones; and he did not meet with success there either. Labienus, however, occupied the island in the river Sequana after conquering its defenders on the nearer bank and sending his troops across at many points at once, both down and up stream, in order that he might not be hindered if he attempted the crossing at one spot.

But before this happened, Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of the latter's reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And intercepting the Roman general, who had thereupon set out to aid them, when he was among the Sequani, he surrounded him, but did him no harm; on the contrary, he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, whereas he himself failed by reason of his numbers and audacity. His defeat was due in part to the Germans who were acting as allies of the Romans; for with their unquenchable enthusiasm and their mighty bodies which added strength to their daring they succeeded in breaking through the enclosing ranks. Having met with this good fortune, Caesar did not give ground, but

οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει.

40 Κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἱππέας, πρὶν παντελῶς ἀποτειχισθῆναι, ἐξέπεμψε, τῆς τε τροφῆς τῶν ἵππων ἕνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ὅπως ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοί σφων κομισθέντες τά τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ
2 ἀγάγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοί τε ἐχρόνιζον καὶ τὰ σιτία σφᾶς ἐπιλείπειν ἤρξατο, τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ[1] τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ἐξέβαλεν,[2] ἐλπίσας μάτην ὅτι ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς λείας ἕνεκα σωθήσονται, ἢ οἵ γε λοιποὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρησάμενοι
3 περιγενήσονται. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέρους τρέφειν, εὐπόρει· τοῖς δ' οὖν[3] πολεμίοις ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν σιτοδείαν ἐπανελθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως σφᾶς καταδεχθήσεσθαι, ποιήσειν νομίσας πάντας
4 αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδετέρων σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλοντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπικουρία τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντων ἐπῆλθε μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἱππομαχίᾳ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ βοη-
5 θείᾳ. . . . καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πειράσαντες νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπόνησαν·[4] τάφρους τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρυπτὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱππασίμοις ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ σκόλοπας ἐς αὐτὰς ἐνεπεπήχεσαν,[5] πάντα ἐπι-

[1] καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
[2] ἐξέβαλεν R. Steph., ἐξέβαλον L.
[3] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.
[4] ἐπόνησαν H. Steph., ἐποίησαν L.
[5] ἐνεπεπήχεσαν Dind., ἐμπεπήχεσαν L.

shut up and besieged in Alesia such of the foe as escaped. B.C. 52

Now Vercingetorix had at first, before he had been entirely cut off by the wall, sent out the cavalry to get fodder for the horses, as there was none on hand, and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. But as these delayed and food supplies began to fail the besieged, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, hoping either that the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else that those left in the town might survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But he hoped in vain, for Caesar did not have sufficient food himself to feed others; and believing, moreover, that by returning the expelled he could make the enemy's lack of food more severely felt (for he expected that they would of course be received again), he forced them all back. Now these perished most miserably between the city and the camp, because neither party would receive them. As for the relief looked for, the horsemen and the others they were bringing reached the barbarians before long, but these were then [defeated (?)] in a cavalry battle, as the Romans with the aid [of the Germans (?)] . . . Thereupon they tried to enter the city by night through the wall of circumvallation, but met with dire disaster; for the Romans had dug secret pits in the places which were passable for horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole

πολῆς τῷ ἄλλῳ[1] τῷ πέριξ χωρίῳ ὁμοιώσαντες,
6 ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅτι μάλιστα
ἀπερισκέπτως ἐς αὐτὰ ἐμπεσόντας σφαλῆναι. οὐ
μέντοι καὶ ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἐκ παρατάξεως αὖθις[2]
πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τειχίσμασιν αὐτοί τε ἅμα καὶ οἱ
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξελθόντες πταῖσαι.

41 Ὁ δ' οὖν Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἠδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγεῖν
(οὔτε γὰρ ἑάλω καὶ ἄτρωτος ἦν), ἐλπίσας δ', ὅτι
ἐν φιλίᾳ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγεγόνει, συγγνώμης
παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπι-
κηρυκευσάμενος, καὶ καθημένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ βήματος
ἐξαίφνης ὤφθη, ὥστε καὶ ταραχθῆναί τινας· ἄλ-
λως τε γὰρ περιμήκης ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δεινῶς
2 ἐνέπρεπεν· ἡσυχίας δ' οὖν γενομένης εἶπε μὲν οὐ-
δέν, πεσὼν δὲ ἐς γόνυ τώ τε χεῖρε πιέσας[3] ἐδεῖτο.[4]
ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἶκτον τῇ τε τῆς προτέρας
αὐτοῦ τύχης ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῆς παρούσης
ὄψεως περιπαθεῖ ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ αὐτό
τε αὐτῷ τοῦτο, δι' ὃ μάλιστα σωθήσεσθαι προσε-
3 δόκησεν, ἐπεκάλεσε (τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τὴν ἀντίταξιν
ἀντιθεὶς χαλεπωτέραν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνε),
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἠλέ-
ησεν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔδησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπι-
νίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε.

42 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς
μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τῶν λοιπῶν προσέθετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐδουλώσατο. οἵ τε γὰρ Βελγικοὶ[5]

[1] τῷ ἄλλῳ Rk., τῶν ἄλλων L. [2] αὖθις Bk., ἀρθεὶς L.
[3] πιέσας Reim. (from two late Mss.), ποιήσας L.
[4] ἐδεῖτο Dind., ἐδέετο L.
[5] Βελγικοὶ Leuncl., βελτικοὶ L.

resemble on the surface the surrounding ground; thus B.C. 52
horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, came to grief. The men did not give up, however, until they had arrayed themselves once more beside the very walls and had been defeated along with the people from the city who came out to fight.

Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded; but he hoped, since he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he might obtain pardon from him. So he came to him without any announcement by herald, but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on the tribunal, and threw some who were present into alarm; for he was very tall to begin with, and in his armour he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees, with hands clasped in an attitude of supplication. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for his safety, and by setting over against his claim of former friendship his recent opposition, showed his offence to have been the more grievous. Therefore he did not pity him even at the time, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

This, however, was a later occurrence. At the time B.C. 51
mentioned he gained some of the remaining foes by capitulation and enslaved others after conquering them in battle. The Belgae who lived near by had

οἱ πλησιόχωροι,[1] Κόμμιόν τινα Ἀτρέβαν προστησάμενοί σφων, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον, καὶ δύο τε ἱππομαχίαις ἀγχώμαλά πῃ[2] ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ τρίτῃ πεζομαχίᾳ ἰσοπαλεῖ[3] τὸ πρῶτον συνενεχθέντες ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ κατὰ νώτου σφίσιν ἀνελπίστως προσπεσόντος[4] ἐτράπησαν.
2 κἀκ τούτου τό τε στρατόπεδον τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐξέλιπον, καὶ διελθόντες ὕλην τινὰ ἐκείνην τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας μόνας ὑπελίποντο,[5] ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων διά τε ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ χρονισάντων φθάσωσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρή-
3 σαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγένοντο· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τάχιστα τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῶν ᾔσθοντο, ἐπεδίωξάν σφας, καὶ ἐντυχόντες τῷ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν κατέσβεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν, καί τινες καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς δραμόντες κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς
43 ἐφόνευσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινὲς ὡμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρέβας διαφυγὼν οὐδ' ὣς ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον ἐπεχείρησεν
2 ἐνεδρεῦσαί ποτε. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεπείσθη μὲν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, πρὶν δὲ ἢ ὁτιοῦν συμβῆναι τρωθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἀκριβῶς εἰρηνῆσαι διέφυγε, καὶ χαλεπὸς αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, μέχρις οὗ ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ ἀκέραιον τὴν ἄδειαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς[6] δὲ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μηδέποτε, ὥς γέ τινές φασιν,[7]

[1] πλησιόχωροι R. Steph., πλησιοχώριοι L.
[2] πῃ Rk., τε L. [3] ἰσοπαλεῖ Bs., ἰσοπάλῳ L.
[4] προσπεσόντος R. Steph., προσπεσόντες L.
[5] ὑπελίποντο Bk., ὑπελείποντο L.
[6] αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτοὺς L. [7] φασιν added by Bs.

put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and resisted for a long time. They fought two indecisive cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle, although at first they held their own, they were later turned to flight when attacked unexpectedly in the rear by the cavalry. After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only their waggons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they themselves might thus reach safety. Their hope, however, was not realized. For the Romans, as soon as they were aware of their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished it in places or hewed their way through the trees, and some even ran through the midst of the flames; thus they came upon the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereupon some of the others came to terms, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not remain quiet even then. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, but after being defeated in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were made, however, he was wounded by one of the Romans, who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace; but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates unconditional amnesty for all their acts, and pardon for himself, as some say, on the condition of his never appearing again B.C. 51

3 ἐς ὄψιν μηδενὸς Ῥωμαίου ἐλθεῖν. ἐκεῖνοί τε οὖν οὕτω κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν ἑκούσιοι οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες, ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ δικαιώσεσι χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξεσι καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεσι τοὺς μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τοὺς δὲ ἡμέρωσε.

44 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπί τε Λουκίου Παύλου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαΐου Μαρκέλλου ὑπάτων ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν Γαλατῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος ἔκ τε τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανακομισθῆναι ὤφειλεν· ἐκεῖνός [1] τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἦν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' εὐπρεπῆ σκῆψιν πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ τά τε στρατόπεδα ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι εἶχεν·
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τά τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐστασιάζετο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐτεθνήκει, ὅ τε Πομπήιος ἔν τε δυνάμει αὖθις, ἅτε τρίτον ὑπατευκὼς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη δοθῆναί οἱ διαπεπραγμένος, ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οἰκείως,
3 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπερ που καὶ μόνον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτοὺς [2] κατεῖχε, τετελευτηκότος, διέκειτο,[3] ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ψιλωθεὶς ἐπί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς γένηται, καὶ οὐ διῆκεν αὐτούς.

45 Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔτεσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιώδη πολλὰ κἀν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις μάλιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε μόλις ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ τόν τε Καλουῖνον καὶ τὸν Μεσσάλαν ὑπάτους ἀποδει-
2 χθῆναι· καὶ οὐδ' ἂν τότε ᾑρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κύιντός

[1] ἐκεῖνός Leuncl., εἰκός L. [2] αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
[3] διέκειτο supplied by Rk.

within sight of any Roman. So these foes became reconciled on these terms, and later the rest were subdued, some voluntarily and some when conquered in war; and Caesar by means of garrisons and punishments and levies of money and assessments of tribute humbled some of them and tamed others. B.C. 51

Thus these wars came to an end in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. It was now time for Caesar, in view of the subjugation of the Gauls and the period for which his command had been assigned him, to leave Gaul and return to Rome. For his term was about to expire, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any plausible excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. But affairs in the city at this time were in a state of turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, since he had been consul for the third time and had managed to have the government of Spain granted to him for five years longer; moreover, he no longer was on intimate terms with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had died.[1] Caesar was therefore afraid that if he were deprived of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and so did not dismiss them. B.C. 50

During these same years many tumults had occurred in the city, especially in connection with the elections, so that it was not until the seventh month that Calvinus and Messalla were appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not B.C. 53

[1] Cf. xxxix, 64.

τε Πομπήιος ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ
τῆς βουλῆς, καίτοι τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατριδοῦς ὢν
καὶ δημαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις τοῖς κακουργῆσαί τι ἐθελήσασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τῷ
τε Πομπηίῳ ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη.
3 ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας
ἐπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασιλεῦσι γε-
νέσθαι· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, τὰ πράγματα
τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει διέποντες ὥστε καὶ τὰς πανη-
γύρεις καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιεῖν, ἐκώλυον
τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
4 ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν
τὸν Φαουώνιον ἀγορανομοῦντα ἐς αὐτὸ ὕστερον
ἀπό τινος οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἵνα δὴ κοινωνὸν
τῆς ἀτιμίας λάβῃ, κατέθετο· πάντες δὲ οἱ δή-
μαρχοι ἄλλας τε σκήψεις ἐμποδίους ἐσέφερον,
καὶ χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅπως πλείους
ἄρχοντες ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καθί-
5 στασθαι[1] ἐσηγοῦντο. ἐπειδή τ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν
ἐπείσθη, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεχθῆναι
δεῖν ἔφασκον. καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τῇ προ-
φάσει ταύτῃ διέτριψαν· ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἀπεδήμει,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε ψηφίσασθαί τις αὐτό
(πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ὠμότητα ἐμίσουν
πάντες τὸ πολίτευμα) οὔτ' αὖ μὴ ἑλέσθαι διὰ
46 τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον ὑπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ
ὀψέ ποτε αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν τὴν μὲν δικτατορίαν διδο-
μένην οἱ δῆθεν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους
ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ
ἐκεῖνοι διαδόχους σφίσι διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν σφαγῶν[2]

[1] καθίστασθαι Bs., καθίσται L.
[2] σφαγῶν v. Herw., σφαγέων L.

Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though he was the grandson of Sulla and was serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate; and the same penalty was voted in the case of the others who had desired to commit some outrage, while the task of proceeding against them was entrusted to Pompey. Sometimes the omens had checked the elections by refusing to favour the *interreges;* above all else the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors should conduct the games, prevented the remaining magistrates from being chosen. This also was the reason why Rufus was put in jail. He later on brought Favonius, the aedile, to the same fate on some trifling charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. All the tribunes offered various objections, and proposed, among other things, that consular tribunes should replace the consuls, so that more magistrates might be elected, as formerly. And when no one would heed them, they declared that in any case Pompey must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay; for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand, since in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that institution, nor yet would venture to refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him. At last, very late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and took measures to have the consuls named. These, likewise, on account of the turmoil arising from murders, did not appoint any successors, though they B.C. 53

τάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα καταθέμενοι κἂν τῇ ἱππάδι τὴν γερουσίαν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πένθει συνά-
2 γοντες. δόγμα τε[1] ἐποιήσαντο μηδένα μήτε στρατηγήσαντα μήθ' ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν ἂν πέντε ἔτη διέλθῃ, λαμβάνειν, εἴ πως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ παραυτίκα ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ αὐτοὺς γίγνεσθαι παύσαιντο σπουδαρχοῦντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐμε-
3 τρίαζον οὔθ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους παρώρμηντο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείω μαχόμενοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὕπατόν ποτε τὸν Καλουῖνον τρωθῆναι. οὔκουν οὔθ' ὕπατος οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε πολίαρχός τίς σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ ἄναρκτοι κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἔτους ἐγένοντο.

47 Κἀκ τούτου οὔτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀεὶ ἡμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν
2 αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνίᾳ ἤχθη. καὶ τοῦτό τε αὐτούς,[2] ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου συμβὰν ἀλλ' ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ γενόμενον, ἐθορύβει, καὶ ὅτι βύας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὤφθη καὶ συνελήφθη, ἄγαλμά τέ τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἵδρωσε, καὶ λαμπὰς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διέδραμε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βῶλοι λίθοι τε καὶ ὄστρακα καὶ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἠνέχθη.
3 δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ, περί τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἶσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἧττον γενέσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν,[3] οὓς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποίηντο,

[1] δόγμα τε R. Steph., δόγματα L.
[2] αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L. [3] αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτοῦ L.

laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of knights, as on the occasion of some great calamity, convened the senate. They also passed a decree that no one, either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, should assume a command abroad until five years had elapsed; they hoped that such men, by not being in a position of power immediately after holding office, would cease their craze for office. For there was no moderation and no decency at all being observed, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and, going still further, in fighting, so that once even the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul or praetor or prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans were absolutely without a government in these branches. B.C. 53 B.C. 52

No good came of all this, and among other things the market that was held on every ninth day, came on the very first day of January. This seemed to the Romans to be no mere coincidence but rather in the nature of a portent, and it accordingly caused them trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a meteor darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air. But it seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near its close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any; for the senate had decided to tear down their temples, which some individuals had

4 καθελεῖν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε[1] γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἱδρύσαντο.

48 Τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένου, σφαγαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγίγνοντο, τάς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, καίτοι σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκασμοῖς καὶ φόνοις δι' αὐτὰς χρώ-
2 μενοι, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν. ὁ γοῦν Μίλων ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν τὸν Κλώδιον ἐν τῇ Ἀππίᾳ ὁδῷ συντυχόντα οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἁπλῶς πως ἔτρωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ[2] τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαξεν, ἐλπίσας, ἐπειδὴ πάντας[3] τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εὐθὺς ἠλευθέρωσε,[4] ῥᾷον τοῦ φόνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περι-
3 γίγνοιτο ἀφεθήσεσθαι. ἀκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἑσπέραν δεινῶς ἐταράχθησαν· ταῖς τε γὰρ στάσεσιν ἀφορμὴ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὅμως διά τε τὸ[5] ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος στερηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ
49 ἤθελον, ἠγανάκτουν. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας ὅ τε Ῥοῦφος καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος Πλάγκος προσπαρώξυναν· δημαρχοῦντες γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὸν[6] νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσί τε ἐπεδείκνυσαν,
2 καὶ ἐπέλεγον οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ὀδυρόμενοι, ὥστε τὸν ὅμιλον καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἑώρων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον συν-

[1] ὅτε Rk., ὅτι L. [2] ἐπεξέλθῃ R. Steph., ἐξέλθῃ L.
[3] πάντας R. Steph., πάντες L.
[4] ἠλευθέρωσε Leuncl., ἐλευθερῶσαι L.
[5] τὸ R. Steph., τὸν L. [6] τὸν added by Rk.

built on their own account. Indeed, for a long time they did not believe in these gods, and even when the rendering of public worship to them gained the day, they settled them outside the pomerium. B.C. 52

Such being the state of things in the city at that time, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day, and they could not hold the elections, although men were eager to win the offices and employed bribery and assassination to secure them. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him; then, fearing he would avenge the deed, he slew him, hoping that after he had immediately freed all the servants concerned in the affair, he would be more easily acquitted of the murder, once the man was dead, than he would be of the assault, in case he should survive. The people in the city heard of this toward evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar; to the factions it served as an incentive to war and misdeeds, while those who were neutrals, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo also, showed indignation. While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took them in hand and excited them to greater wrath. As tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words over it with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred

ταραχθῆναι, καὶ μήτε τοῦ ὁσίου[1] *μήτε τοῦ θείου
ἔτι φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς
νόμιμα συγχέαι, πᾶσαν δὲ ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν κατα-
πρῆσαι. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἔς
τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήνεγκαν, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συννήσαντες*[2]
3 *ἔκαυσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον. οὕτω τε οὐχ
ὁρμῇ τινι, οἵα που τοὺς ὄχλους ἐξαπιναία κατα-
λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἔπραξαν
ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περίδειπνον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένου ἔτι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ποιῆσαι,
καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος*
4 *καταφλέξαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν πολλῶν
αὐτῇ ἀμυνάντων οὐκ ἐκαύθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μίλων τέως
μὲν περίφοβος ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὢν ἐκρύπτετο, οὐχ
ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππέων βουλευτῶν
τέ τινων φρουρούμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτό τε ἐγένετο
καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστα-*
5 *σιωτῶν μίασμα περιχωρήσειν ἤλπισεν (εὐθὺς
γοῦν τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
συλλεγέντες τόν τε μεσοβασιλέα προχειρισθῆναι,
καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς
δημάρχους καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπι-
μεληθῆναι ὥστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι,
ἐψηφίσαντο), προῄει τε ἐς τὸ*[3] *μέσον καὶ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ὁμοίως ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀντεποιεῖτο.*

50 *Μάχαι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ καὶ σφαγαὶ
αὖθις ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν τά τε προειρη-
μένα ἐπικυρῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μεταπέμψα-
σθαι, καταλόγους τε αὐτῷ καινοὺς ποιήσασθαι*

[1] *μήτε τοῦ ὁσίου* supplied by Bk.
[2] *συννήσαντες* Polak, *ἐνήσαντες* L. [3] *τὸ* added by St.

and no longer showed any regard for things sacred or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building. They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smouldering; and they furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo's house. It was not burned, however, because many defended it. But Milo, in great terror because of the murder, was meanwhile in hiding, being guarded not only by ordinary citizens but also by knights and some senators; and when this other deed occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would shift to the outrage of the opposing faction. The senators, indeed, did at once assemble on the Palatine late in the afternoon for this very purpose, and they voted that an *interrex* should be chosen, and that he and the tribunes and Pompey should look after the guarding of the city, so that it should suffer no harm. Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly. B.C. 52

Thereupon conflicts and much bloodshed occurred once more, so that the senate adopted the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their

2 *ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἐλθόντος τε αὐτοῦ*[1] *οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔξω τε τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν φρουρᾷ ἠθροίσθησαν*[2] *καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὀστᾶ ἀνελέσθαι ἔγνωσαν, τό τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστῳ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου υἱεῖ ἀνοικοδομῆσαι προσέταξαν.*
3 *ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ὀστίλιον, μετεσκεύαστο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου· διὸ*[3] *τοῦτό τε περὶ αὐτοῦ*[4] *ἔδοξε, καὶ ὅπως ἐξοικοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα ἀπολάβῃ.*[5] *μετεώρου δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρξουσί σφων, καὶ διαθροούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα τὸν Πομπήιον, τῶν δὲ ὡς ὕπατον τὸν Καίσαρα*
4 *αἱρεθῆναι δεῖ*[6] *(οὕτω γάρ που ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις αὐτὸν ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ ἑξήκονθ' ἡμέρας θῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι), φοβηθέντες ἑκάτερον οἵ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ καὶ Βίβουλος, ὅσπερ που τὴν γνώμην πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποιήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, προκατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμήν, τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὥστε μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνῳ γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ*
5 *Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ συνάρξῃ, δόντες. ξένον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου γενόμενον ἔπραξαν, καίτοι*[7] *ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἧττον τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὁμίλῳ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρήξειν τε αὐτὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετεριεῖσθαι ἤλπισαν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· τῷ τε γὰρ καινῷ καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεὶς οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἀρέσκοντα ἔπραξεν.*

[1] *αὐτοῦ* Reim., *αὐτῶι* L. [2] *ἠθροίσθησαν* Rk., *ἤθροισαν* L.
[3] *διὸ* Bk., *διὰ* L. [4] *αὐτοῦ* Xyl., *αὐτοὺς* L.
[5] *ἀπολάβῃ* Reim., *ἀποβάλῃ* L. [6] *δεῖ* supplied by Rk.
[7] *καίτοι* Capps, *καὶ* L.

garments. Upon his arrival not long afterward they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium, and resolved to take up the bones of Clodius, and also assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, the son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodelled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey should be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be made consul. They were so determined to honour the latter for his achievements that they voted a thanksgiving of sixty[1] days because of them. Fearing both of the men, the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, forestalled the enthusiasm of the populace by giving the consulship to Pompey, so as to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone, in order that he might not have Caesar as his colleague. This action of theirs was novel, having been taken in no other case; and [yet] they seemed to have acted with good judgment. For since Pompey favoured the populace less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. And this expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honour, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace, but was careful to do everything that pleased the senate. B.C. 52

[1] Twenty days according to Caesar (*B.G.* vii, 90). Reimar thought "sixty" an error of the copyists.

51 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι ἠθέλησεν· τὴν γὰρ εὔκλειαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαι τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων, τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ἐξέκλινε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήποτε κενῆς τῆς χώρας οὔσης ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκ τε τῆς[1] τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους σπουδῆς συνάρχων
2 αὐτῷ δοθῇ, ἐκείνῳ[2] μέν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς παρημελῆσθαι νομίσῃ[3] κἀκ τούτου τινὰ ὀργὴν δικαίαν ποιήσηται, παρεσκεύασε διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ ἀπόντι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκῃ,[4] αἰτῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύιντον Σκιπίωνα πενθερόν τέ οἱ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν
3 ἔχοντα προσείλετο. οὗτος γὰρ γόνῳ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Νασικοῦ ὤν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ κλήρου διαδοχῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γένος ποιηθεὶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τήν τε θυγατέρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐξέδωκε, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τήν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι ἀντέ-
52 λαβε. πάνυ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ εὐθύνθησαν, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκριβέστερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου νόμων συνήγετο. πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δικάσοντας ἀποκληροῦσθαι ἔδει[5] αὐτὸς ἐπελέγετο, καὶ τὸν τῶν συναγορευσόντων[6] ἑκατέρῳ τῷ μέρει ἀριθμὸν ὥρισεν, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τοὺς
2 δικαστὰς θορυβουμένους ἐκταράττεσθαι. χρόνον τε τῷ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὥρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς δίδοσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὃ δὴ μάλιστα πλείστοις ἐλυμαίνετο, τό[7] τινας ἐπαινέτας ὑπὸ τῶν κρινο-

[1] τῆς added by Bk. [2] ἐκείνῳ Xyl., ἐκεῖνον L.
[3] νομίσῃ Bk., νομισθῆι L.
[4] καθήκῃ R. Steph., καθήκει L. [5] ἔδει Bk., ἐδόκει L.
[6] συναγορευσόντων Rk., συναγορευόντων L.
[7] τὸ added by Rk.

BOOK XL

He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. For now that he had the glory that lay in the passing of such a vote, he wished to avoid the envy attaching to it. He also feared that, if the place were vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of his troops and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that Caesar should be permitted even in his absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law; he then chose as his colleague Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and was under a charge of bribery. This man, by birth the son of Nasica, had been adopted into the family of Metellus Pius as the latter's heir, and for that reason also bore his name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation. Very many had been called to account on the charge mentioned, especially because the trials, by Pompey's laws, were more carefully conducted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors must be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and embarrassed by their number. And he ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff should be only two hours, and to the defendant three. But what grieved a great many most was his reform of the custom whereby character-witnesses were brought forward by those on trial, with the result that great B.C. 52

μένων δίδοσθαι (πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιοπί-
στων ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο), ἐπηνώρθωσε,
νομοθετήσας μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην[1]
3 τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα τέ
τινα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτά-
χθη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ[2] τὰς ἀρχὰς δεκάζουσι καὶ
τοὺς προεαλωκότας ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ[3] τινὶ κατηγόρους
ἐπέστησεν, ἆθλόν σφισιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον προθείς·
4 εἰ γάρ τις ἤτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττόνων
ἢ καὶ ἕνα τῶν μειζόνων τῆς[4] καθ' ἑαυτὸν αἰτίας
εἷλεν, ἄδειαν εὑρίσκετο.

53 Ἄλλοι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ ἑάλωσαν[5] καὶ
Πλαύτιος Ὑψαῖος ἀνταιτήσας τῷ τε Μίλωνι καὶ
τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὴν ὑπατείαν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν
2 δωροφορησάντων μόνος ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. ὅ
τε γὰρ Σκιπίων ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυοῖν γε, οὐκ
ἐκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπήιον· καὶ ὁ Μίλων ἐπὶ
μὲν τούτῳ[6] οὐκ ἐσήχθη (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φόνου ἔγκλη-
μα μεῖζον εἶχεν), ὑπαχθεὶς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἑάλω,
μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς βίαιον δρᾶσαι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος
τήν τε ἄλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
3 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὁπλίταις ἐσῆλθε, θορυβη-
σάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τινῶν προσέταξε τοῖς στρα-
τιώταις ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλαγίοις
καὶ πλατέσι τοῖς ξίφεσι παίοντας. ἐπειδή τε οὐχ
ὑπεῖκον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι πλαγια-
ζόμενοι ὕβριζον, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀπέθανον.

54 Τά τε οὖν δικαστήρια ἡσύχως ἐκ τούτων συνή-

[1] ἐπαινέτην Bk., ἐξεῖναι ἐν L. [2] περὶ added by Cary.
[3] τοιούτῳ Oddey, τούτωι L. [4] τῆς Rk., ἢ τῆς L.
[5] ἑάλωσαν Bs., καὶ ἑάλωσαν L. [6] τούτῳ St., τούτου L.

numbers were snatched from justice because they were commended by credible witnesses; he had a measure passed that no character-witnesses at all should henceforth be allowed to such persons. These and other reforms he applied to all the courts alike; and against those who practised bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, setting before the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges similar to the one against himself, or even on slighter charges, or of one man on a greater charge, he gained pardon himself. B.C. 52

Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaeus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery, he alone was convicted. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but had not been tried, thanks to Pompey's influence; and Milo was not charged with this crime, since he had the more serious charge of murder against him, but when he was brought to trial on this latter charge, he was convicted, as he was unable to use any violence. For Pompey kept the rest of the city well under guard and entered the court himself with armed soldiers. When some raised an outcry at this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side or the flat of their swords; and when they still would not yield, but jeered as if they were being struck in sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

The courts convened in quiet in consequence of

γετο, καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐπί τε ἑτέροις τισὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κλωδίου φόνῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μίλων, καίτοι τὸν Κικέρωνα συναγωνιστὴν ἔχων.
2 ὁ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἰδὼν ἐξεπλάγη καὶ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν παρεσκευασμένων μηδὲν εἰπεῖν, βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς χαλεπῶς φθεγξάμενος ἀγαπητῶς μεταστῆναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν νῦν φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τότε λεχθέντα χρόνῳ ποθ' ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναθαρσήσας ἔγραψε·
3 καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται. ὁ Μίλων τῷ λόγῳ πεμφθέντι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐντυχὼν (ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ) ἀντεπέστειλε[1] λέγων ὅτι ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λεχθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ (ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἦν) τρίγλας
4 ἐσθίειν, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. τοῦτο δὲ ἔγραψεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἠρέσκετο (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπετόλμησεν) ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποσκώπτων, ὅτι μηδὲν χρηστὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας καιρῷ εἰπὼν ἔπειτα ἀκάρπους λόγους καὶ ἐμελέτα καὶ ἔπεμπεν[2] αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ τι ὠφελῆσαι τότε αὐτὸν δυναμένους.[3]

55 Ὅ τε οὖν Μίλων οὕτως ἑάλω, καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὅ τε Πλάγκος[4] ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὺν αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔμπρησιν, καίτοι τῷ

[1] ἀντεπέστειλε Reim., ἀνταπέστειλε L.
[2] ἔπεμπεν Leuncl., εἶπεν L.
[3] δυναμένους Leuncl., δυνάμενος L.
[4] Πλάγκος R. Steph., πλάχνος L.

these reforms, and many were convicted on various B.C. 52 charges, among others, Milo for the murder of Clodius, though he had Cicero to defend him. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers in the court, contrary to custom, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver the speech he had prepared at all, but after uttering with difficulty a few words that all but died on his lips, was glad to retire. The speech which is now extant, purporting to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo, he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. Indeed, the following story has come down about it. When Milo, in banishment, had read the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he should not be eating such mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his condition,—indeed, he made many efforts to secure his return,—but as a joke on Cicero, because the orator, after saying nothing useful at the time of the defence, had later composed and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could then be of any service to him.

In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others, on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus

Πλάγκῳ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου συσπουδάσαντος,[1] ὥστε καὶ βιβλίον ἔπαινόν τε ἅμα αὐτοῦ καὶ
2 ἱκετείαν ἔχον ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἔπεμψεν· ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος (δικάζειν δὲ ἔμελλεν) οὐκ ἔφη τὸν ἐπαινέτην ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νόμων καταλύσει προσίεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τὴν ψῆφον ἔδωκεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος ὡς καὶ τὴν καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἴσοντα ἐξέκρινεν (ἐξῆν γάρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίων νόμων, πέντε ἑκατέρῳ τῶν διαδικούντων ἐκ τῶν δικάσειν σφίσι μελ-
3 λόντων ἀπολέγειν)· οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ σφισι, τοῦ Ῥούφου κατεγνωκόσιν, ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρινόμενον ἀφεῖναι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Πομπήιον συναιρόμενόν οἱ εἶδον, ἀντεσπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ δοῦλοί τινες ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ δικασταὶ νομισθῶσιν
4 εἶναι. καίπερ καὶ τότε ὁ Κικέρων οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἀπελογήσατο· ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὄψις ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τἀναντία οἱ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ ἔπραττεν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα αὖθις αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε.

56 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἅμα διῴκει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἀρχήν τινα ἐπαγγέλλοντας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως ἀπαντᾶν, ὥστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἱρεῖσθαι, παρημελημένον πως ἀνενεώσατο· τό τε δόγμα τὸ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθε γενόμενον, ὥστε τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ πρότερον ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν

[1] συσπουδάσαντος R. Steph., σπουδάσαντος L.

was not saved even by the efforts of Pompey, who was B.C. 52
so zealous in his behalf that he sent to the court a pamphlet containing both a eulogy of Milo and an entreaty in his behalf. But Marcus Cato, who was to be a juryman, said he would not allow the character-witness to appear to the destruction of his own laws[1]; however, he got no opportunity to cast his vote, since he was rejected by Plancus, who felt sure he would vote for his condemnation. By the laws of Pompey, it should be explained, each of the parties to a suit was allowed to set aside five of the men who were to be on the jury. The other jurors, however, voted against Milo, since it did not seem right to them after they had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on trial on the same charge; and particularly when they saw Pompey coöperating with him, they became zealous in opposing him, for fear they might be thought to be absolute slaves of his rather than jurymen. It should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero accused Plancus no more successfully than he had defended Milo; for the appearance of the courtroom was the same, and Pompey in each case was advising and acting against him—a circumstance that was important in bringing about another collision between them.

Besides attending to these matters Pompey revived the law about elections that commanded those who seek an office to present themselves without fail before the assembly, so that no one who was absent might be chosen; this law had somehow fallen into disuse. He also confirmed the decree, passed a short time previously, that those who had held office in the city should not be assigned to command abroad until

[1] See chap. 52.

πέντε ἔτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν.
2 οὐδ' ᾐσχύνθη τότε μὲν[1] τοιαῦτα γράψας, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη λαβών, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι (οἱ γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἠγανάκτουν) αἰτῆσαι τὴν
3 ὑπατείαν, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, δούς. προσέγραψε[2] μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τὸ μόνοις αὐτὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν οἷς ἂν ὀνομαστί τε καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐπιτραπῇ, διέφερε δ' οὐδὲν τοῦτο τοῦ μηδ' ἀρχὴν κεκωλῦσθαι· πάντως γὰρ οἵ[3] τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφισθῆναί σφισι διαπράξασθαι ἔμελλον.

57 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαῦτ' ἐπολιτεύετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκιπίων οὔτε ἐνομοθέτησέ τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων χάριν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἣν καὶ πρὶν
2 εἶχον ἀπέδωκε, περιέστη δὲ ἐς τοὐναντίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ[4] πολλοὺς ἔν τε τῇ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἄνδρας εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μήτε κατηγορηθέντα μήθ' ἁλόντα διαγράψαι σφίσιν ἐξῆν, οὐδεμίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλει-
3 φομένων αἰτίαν εἶχον· ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἰσχύν, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἑκάστου βίον ἐξετάζουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐδέδοτο, οὔτε πολλοῖς προσκρούειν ὑπέμενον, οὔτ' αὖ ἐν μέμψει τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους γίγνεσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐφίετο[5] ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐμφρόνων οὐδὲ εἷς.

[1] τότε μὲν Rk., μὲν τότε L.
[2] προσέγραψε R. Steph., προέγραψε L.
[3] οἵ Xyl., ὃ L. [4] τοῦ Xyl., τοὺς L.
[5] ἐφίετο R. Steph., ἐφίεντο L.

five years had passed. And yet, after proposing these measures at this time, he was not ashamed a little later to take Spain himself for five years more and to grant to Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of indignation, the right to canvass for the consulship even in his absence, as had been decreed. For he had amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and without disguise; but this was no different from its not having been prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them. Such were the political acts of Pompey. B.C. 52

Scipio, without enacting any new laws, abolished the laws emanating from Clodius with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favour to them, since he had restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many unworthy men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one who had been either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this on their own authority after examining into the life of each man, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many, nor had they, on the other hand, any desire to incur censure for failing to expel men who were unfit to retain their rank, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.

58 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς τιμητὰς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἄλλως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἰδὼν δὲ τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐξανομένους, καὶ ὑποτοπήσας ἤτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς τὰ πράγματα ἕξειν, ἢ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις στάσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν
2 κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσειν, ἠθέλησε μέν σφας πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾔτησεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἰδιωτεύων οὐδὲν ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλεν, ὑποπτευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνων πραττόντων τοιοῦτόν τι δράσειν οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ
3 Μᾶρκος καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Σουλπίκιος, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐμπειρίαν ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δύναμιν, ᾑρέθησαν,[1] ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μέν, εἰ καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν ἢ βιαίῳ τινὶ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε[2] θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει πολλῇ πρὸς πάντας ἐχρήσαντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὐδένα αὐτῶν
4 ἐθεράπευσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ' αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσατο, λέγων ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον εἶναι μήτ' ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, ἄν γέ τινες χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἐθελήσωσι, μήθ' ὑπὲρ
59 τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι· Μάρκελλος δὲ πάντ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει (τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδος ἦν) ἔπραττε, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλά, καὶ ὥστε καὶ διάδοχόν οἱ ἤδη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθῆναι, ἐσηγήσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὅ τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀντέπραξαν, οὗτοι μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα χάριτι· ἐκεῖνος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο

[1] ᾑρέθησαν Xyl., διῃρέθησαν L. [2] γε Bk., τε L.

BOOK XL

This was the vote passed with regard to the censors. Cato did not really want any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the constitution, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs together or would quarrel with each other and cause a great civil war, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he would have no influence. His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability as an orator. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ money or violence, yet showed great deference to all and were wont to appeal frequently to the people, whereas Cato was deferential to none of them. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to shirk the leadership of the state if any wished to use his services in that way, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. Marcellus at once directed all his efforts toward compassing the downfall of Caesar, inasmuch as he was of Pompey's party; among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent out even before the appointed time. He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes; the latter acted out of good-will toward Caesar, and Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he

B.C. 52

B.C. 51

καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι[1] *οὐκ ἤρεσκε τό*[2] *τινα μεταξὺ*
2 *ἄρχοντα μηδὲν ἠδικηκότα παυθῆναι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (ἀπῆρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προστάξας αὐτὸς τῇ*
3 *πόλει ἐφήδρευε) τὸ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς ἡγεμονίας παραλυθῆναι οὐδὲ ἑαυτῷ ἀρέσκειν ἐπλάττετο, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οἱ χρόνον διάρξῃ*[3] *(τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε), τά τε ὅπλα κατάθηται καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθῃ.*
4 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γαιόν τε Μάρκελλον τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου*[4] *ἀνεψιὸν ἢ καὶ ἀδελφόν (λέγεται γὰρ ἑκάτερον) ὑπατεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Καίσαρι καίπερ ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας προσήκων ἐχθρὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα τὸν Γάιον, δι' ἔχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ ὄντα, δημαρχῆσαι ἐποίησεν.*

60 *Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μήτ' ἄλλως ὑπομένων ἔκ τε τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρονίου ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεῦσαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένηται, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐμμενῶν, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατελέγετο καὶ χρήματα ἤθροιζεν ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ'*
2 *ἡδονὴν πᾶσιν ἡγεῖτο. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι τρόπον τινά, τοῦ μὴ πάντα*[5] *βίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ πειθοῖ πράττειν δοκεῖν, προδιοικήσασθαι ἐθελήσας*

[1] τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι Madvig, ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς L.
[2] ἤρεσκε τό Rk., ἠρέσκετό L.
[3] διάρξῃ Rk., διαπράξῃ L.
[4] τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου supplied by Bk., Μάρκου (only) by Leuncl.
[5] πάντα Rk., πάντῃ L.

did not like the idea of a magistrate who had done no wrong being removed in the middle of his term. Pompey had set out from the city as if he were going to make an expedition into Spain, but he did not even at this time leave the bounds of Italy; instead, he assigned the entire business in Spain to his lieutenants and himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar relieved of his command did not please him, either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him,—an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the very next year,—he should lay down his arms and return home to private life. It was in pursuance of this object that he caused Gaius Marcellus, a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), to obtain the consulship, because, although allied to Caesar by marriage, he was hostile to him; and he caused Gaius Curio, who was also an old-time foe of his rival, to become tribune. B.C. 51

Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after holding so important a command and for such a long time, and in particular he was afraid of falling into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, provided arms, and administered affairs in such a manner as to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to arrange matters at home beforehand in some fashion, so as not to seem to be using violence in all things, but also persuasion to gain his ends, he decided to effect a reconciliation with B.C. 50

ἔγνω συναλλαγῆναι[1] τῷ Κουρίωνι· τοῦ τε γὰρ τῶν Κουριώνων γένους ἦν, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὀξύς, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τῷ τε πλήθει πιθανώτατος, καὶ χρημάτων ἐς πάντα ἁπλῶς ἐξ ὧν ἢ αὐτός τι πλεονεκτήσειν ἢ καὶ ἑτέρῳ διαπράξειν ἤλπιζεν ἀφειδέστατος.
3 καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μὲν[2] ἐπελπίσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, συχνῶν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανᾶσθαι ὄντων, ἀπαλλάξας ἀνηρτήσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παροῦσαν ὧν ἔπραττε σπουδὴν οὔτε[3] ἀργυρίου, ἅτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀργυρολογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ προσυπισχνεῖτό τισι παμπληθῆ ὧν οὐδὲ πολ-
4 λοστὸν μέρος δώσειν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε[4] τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους τούς τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν δυναμένους ἐθεράπευσε· καὶ συχνοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὑπῆρξαν.

61 Ὁ δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραχρῆμα φανερῶς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο· πρόφασίν τε γὰρ εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἑκὼν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ μεθεστηκέναι δόξαι ἐζήτει, καὶ ἐνόμισεν, ὅσῳ[5] ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγγένηται, καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθή-
2 σεσθαι. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότατόν τε ἐπεκρύψατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθῇ μεταβεβλῆσθαί τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ πρώτους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἔτι καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο

[1] συναλλαγῆναι Reim., συλλαγῆναι L.
[2] πολλὰ μὲν Bk., μὲν πολλὰ L.
[3] οὔτε Xyl., οὔτε γὰρ L.
[4] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[5] ὅσῳ Rk., ὡς L.

Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the Curiones, had a keen intellect, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace, and most lavish of money for all objects by which he hoped either to gain advantage for himself or benefit others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and relieving him of all his debts, which on account of his extravagance were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working Caesar did not spare money, since the attainment of these ends would afford him an abundance, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he had no intention of giving them even the smallest fraction. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and of the senators joined his side. B.C. 50

Thus Curio espoused Caesar's cause; but he did not immediately begin to serve him openly, since he was seeking a plausible excuse, so as to appear not to have transferred his allegiance willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with Caesar's enemies in the guise of their friend, the more and the greater would be the secrets of theirs he should learn. For these reasons he dissembled for a long time, and to prevent any suspicion of the fact that he had changed sides and was not still at this time among the foremost in feeling and expressing unqualified opposition to Caesar, he even delivered public speeches against him, as soon as he had entered upon the tribuneship, and introduced many strange

3 πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα. καί τινα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ
τοῖς τε δυνατωτάτοις σφῶν, οἵπερ που καὶ τὰ[1] τοῦ
Πομπηίου μάλιστ' ἔπραττον, ἔγραφεν, οὐχ ὅτι
καὶ ἤθελεν ἢ καὶ ἤλπιζέ τι αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι,[2] ἀλλ'
ἵνα μὴ προσδεχομένων μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρός
τι ψηφισθείη (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν
ἐγράφετο) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ
62 μετασταίη. συχνὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτου χρόνον ἄλλοτε
ἄλλαις σκήψεσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν
κυρωθῆναι, κατατρίψας ἀγανακτεῖν τε προσ-
εποιεῖτο, καὶ ἠξίου μῆνα ἄλλον πρὸς τὰς ὑπ'[3]
αὐτῶν δὴ νομοθεσίας ἐπεμβληθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ
ἐγίγνετο μὲν ὁσάκις γε καὶ καθῆκον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι
καὶ κατ'[4] ἐκεῖνο συνέβαινεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς
2 ἅτε ποντίφιξ ὢν ἠπίστατο. ὅμως δ' οὖν[5] δεῖν τε
αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ τοὺς συνιερέας ὅσον ἀπὸ
βοῆς ἐξεβιάζετο· καὶ τέλος μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς
πεῖσαι συγκαταθέσθαι οἱ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο,
οὐδ' ἄλλο τι διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι ἐπέτρεψεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἤδη τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος
3 διαδικαιῶν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ δῆθεν ἠδυνήθη
ποιῆσαι, πᾶν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο οὐ δεχθῆναι
προΐσχετο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα
ἔχοντας ταῦτά τε καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα
διαλῦσαι χρή, ἢ μηδ' ἐκεῖνον ψιλώσαντας αὐτῶν[6]
ταῖς δυνάμεσι ταῖς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκδοῦναι.
4 ἔλεγε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι
αὐτὸ ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον εὖ ἠπίστατο

[1] τὰ Xyl., κατὰ L. [2] γενήσεσθαι Naber, γνώσεσθαι L.
[3] ὑπ' v. Herw., ἀπ' L. [4] κατ' supplied by St.
[5] οὖν Rk., οὐδὲν L. [6] αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτὸν L.

measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and its most powerful members, men who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, if they did not accept them, no measure might be passed against Caesar either (for many motions directed against him were being offered by various persons), and that he might himself use this as an excuse for changing sides. Thus, after having used up considerable time on different occasions on various pretexts, so that not a single one of his measures was adopted, he pretended to be vexed and asked that an extra month be intercalated for the enactment of the senate's measures. This practice used to be followed as often as occasion demanded, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he declared that it ought to be done and made a fine show of using compulsion on his fellow-priests. At last, not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal, as indeed he did not desire them to do, he would not permit any other matter to be voted upon on this account. On the contrary, he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he claimed, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and he brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey B.C. 50

μὴ πειθαρχήσοντα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνῳ πρόφασις εὔλογος τοῦ μὴ διιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο.

63 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πράττων ἤνυτε, πρός τε τὸ τραχὺ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὥρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐποίει κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξέ τι.
2 ἄλλοι τε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ Λούκιος Παῦλος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ὅ τε Πίσων ὁ Λούκιος ὁ[1] πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τιμητὴς ὢν συνηγωνίζοντο· καὶ γὰρ[2] τιμηταὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὅ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ[3] Ἄππιος καὶ ὁ Πίσων, καίτοι μὴ βουληθείς, ἐγέ-
3 νοντο. καὶ οὗτος μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὑπῆρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἠναντιοῦτο[4] μὲν αὐτῷ (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου ᾑρεῖτο), οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὠφέλησε· πλείστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασάμενος τὸν συνάρχοντα, κἀκ τούτου πάντας αὐτοὺς
4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων οὔτ' ἄλλως πράγματ'[5] ἔχειν ἐθέλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλίαν πολλοὺς θεραπεύων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀντέπραξε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κρίσπον τὸν Σαλούστιον τὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν
5 γράψαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὸν μέντοι Κουρίωνα μελλήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλειφθήσεσθαι ἐξῃτήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου, οὗπερ

[1] ὁ added by Bk. [2] καὶ γὰρ Reim., καίτοι L.
[3] ὁ added by R. Steph.
[4] ἠναντιοῦτο R. Steph., ἠναντιοῦντο L.
[5] πράγματ' Rk., πρᾶγμα L.

would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible excuse was offered the other also for not dismissing his soldiers. B.C. 50

Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar; yet he failed to accomplish anything. Caesar had many supporters, among them Lucius Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor; for at this time Appius Claudius and Piso were made censors, the latter against his will. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius, though opposing him, since he favoured Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily rendered Caesar very efficient aid. For he expelled a great many both of the knights and senators, overruling his colleague, and in this way made them all favour Caesar's cause. Piso, who was in any case disposed to avoid trouble, and for the sake of maintaining friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, was himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from the senate all the freedmen and numbers even of the exclusive nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus, who wrote the history. When, however, Curio's name also was about to be expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus, whose kinsman he was, did beg him

64 συγγενὴς ἦν· καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε[1] μὲν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην ἣν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐδημοσίευσεν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον ἀγανακτήσαντα τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιρρῆξαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίσας ἐπί τε τῷ Κουρίωνι καὶ δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι δεινόν τι τὴν γερουσίαν ψηφιεῖσθαι, γνώμας
2 περὶ αὐτοῦ προέθηκεν. ὁ οὖν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠναντιοῦτο μηδεμίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ[2] γνώμην δοθῆναι· γνοὺς δὲ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παρόντων τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονοῦντας ὄντως τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνυ αὐτὸν δεδιότας,
3 ἐπέτρεψέ σφισι διαγνῶναι, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι σύνοιδα μὲν ἐμαυτῷ τά τε ἄριστα καὶ τὰ συμφορώτατα τῇ πατρίδι πράττοντι, ὑμῖν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραδίδωμι χρήσασθαι ὅ τι βούλεσθε. κατηγορήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκελλος ὡς καὶ πάντως ἁλωσομένου, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ
4 πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων ἀφείθη, δεινόν τε ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ὄντα ἦλθε, καὶ τήν τε φυλακὴν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατόπεδα πολιτικὰ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, μηδενὸς ἐψηφισμένου, ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οὗτοι ὧδέ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε[3]
65 συνειλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἦσαν. ὁ Πομπήιος πρότερον μέν, ἕως ἔτι τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ φιλίας εἶχε, στράτευμα ἓν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ[4] στρατευομένῳ[5] ἐδεδώκει[6] (οὔτε γὰρ οὗτος

[1] οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε Bs., οὖν ἀπήλλαξε Rk., οὐ διήλλαξε L.
[2] αὐτοῦ Bk., αὑτοῦ L. [3] τῷδε Leuncl., τῶι L.
[4] αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L. [5] στρατευομένῳ Rk., στρατευομένων L.
[6] ἐδεδώκει Bk., δέδωκεν L.

off. Consequently Claudius did not expel him, but made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that the other, indignant, tore Claudius' clothes. So Marcellus seized him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward motions about him. Curio at first opposed the rendering of any decision regarding himself; but on coming to realize that the majority of the senators then present were either actually attached to Caesar's cause or else thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, merely remarking: "I am conscious of doing what is best and most advantageous for my country; to you, however, I surrender both my body and life to do with as you please." Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted; but when he was acquitted by the majority, the accuser took it greatly to heart, and rushing out of the senate, he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, entrusted him with the protection of the city and likewise with two legions of citizens. B.C. 50

These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. Pompey had previously, while still on friendly terms with Caesar, given him one of the enrolled legions for use in his campaign, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war himself and

πόλεμόν τινα διεχείριζε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρεία στρα-
2 τιωτῶν ἐγένετο), ἐπεὶ δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἐθελήσας τοῦτό τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Βιβούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου, καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινοὶ δή τινες κατάλογοι γένωνται (τό τε γὰρ πρᾶγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν σφίσι στρατοπέδων εἶναι ἔλεγε), ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἑκάτερόν σφων, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὸν
3 Καίσαρα, ἓν δεῖν[1] αὐτῷ πέμψαι. κἀκ τούτου τῶν μὲν συστρατευομένων οἱ οὐδένα ἀπέστειλε, τὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδεδώκει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθεῖσιν αἰτῆσαι. καὶ οὕτω τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὁ
4 Καῖσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἔπεμψεν· ᾔδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπειθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουληθεὶς αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἀνηκουστηκὼς λαβεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ πολλῷ πλείους στρατιώτας ἀντικαταλέξειν.

66 Ταῦτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐδέησε (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρεία σφῶν ἦν), ὁ Μάρκελλος πρότερον μέν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῷ Καίσαρι ἀποδοθῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δεῖν εἶναι ἔλεγεν, τότε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐνεχείρισε.
2 καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ἔμελλεν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολύ, ἅτε μήτε τῇ βουλῇ μήτε τῷ δήμῳ δόξαντα, ἰσχύσειν, ἐπήγετο[2] πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον Κορνήλιόν τε Λέντουλον καὶ Γάιον Κλαύδιον τοὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ὑπατεύσειν μέλ-

[1] ἓν δεῖν Bs., δεῖν ἓν Melber, δεῖν L.
[2] ἐπήγετο Rk., ἠπείγετο L.

Caesar had need of soldiers. But when they fell out with each other, in his desire to get this one back from him and to deprive him of yet another he represented that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be made, since the matter was urgent, as he claimed, and they had an abundance of legions, he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to send any of his own soldiers, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. For though he knew what was being done, he complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to collect many more troops in place of these. B.C. 50

These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, there being really no use to which they could be put, Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey's charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to remain long in force, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the people. Accordingly he won over to Pompey's side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next

λοντας, καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκείνους τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-
3 τάξαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδειγ-
μένοις ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν
τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σφῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνί-
στασθαι αὐτήν, πράττειν ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐξῆν, καὶ
τούτου κύριοι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ ὅ γε[1] Πομπήιος,
καίπερ ἐς πάντα τἆλλα ἀκριβὴς ὤν, ὅμως οὐδὲν
διὰ τὴν στρατιωτῶν χρείαν ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν,
οὔτε ἀφ' ὧν οὔθ' ὅπως αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ
4 καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενός σφας ἐδέξατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἐπράχθη τι οἷον ἄν τις ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ τολμήματι
γενήσεσθαι[2] προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔχθραν
μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνδειξάμενοι αὐτοὶ
μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἰσχυρὸν παρεσκευάσαντο, ἐκείνῳ
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὔλογον ἐς τὸ[3] τὰ
στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέσχον.
5 ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων ἐπί τε τούτοις πολλὴν ἐν τῷ
πλήθει κατηγορίαν κατά τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ
τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διῆρξε, πρὸς
τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρμήθη.

[1] γε Rk., τε L. [2] γενήσεσθαι Rk., γεγεννῆσθαι L.
[3] τὸ added by Reim.

year, and caused them to issue the same commands. B.C. 50
For since magistrates-elect were still allowed to issue proclamations and to perform some other functions pertaining to their office even before they entered upon it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very scrupulous in all other matters, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not either enquire at all from what sources he was getting them, or in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from such a bold move; they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, and then made no further preparations themselves to strengthen their position, while they had furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the legions that were with him. For Curio, taking these acts as his text, delivered before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term of office, he at once set out to join Caesar.

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

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